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reason
Free Minds and Free Markets

December 2003
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Editor's Note: Nick Gillespie

The Reason for reason

"Logic, not legends. Coherance [sic], not contradictions. This is our promise; this is the reason for REASON."—*from the first issue, May 1968*

IN A COUNTRY that prides itself on stories of humble origins, **reason** has an especially good tale to tell. In the *annus mirabilis* (or *horribilis*, take your pick) of 1968, we came into being as a typo-ridden mimeographed publication, the brainchild of a disgruntled Boston University student named Lanny Friedlander. He was outraged equally by the demonstrators who disrupted his classes and the increasingly repressive measures used by the authorities to contain such protests.

Showing he was definitely not your average *soixante-huitard*, Friedlander penned essays such as "Animal Farm 1970," in which he averred, "We are trapped in the middle of a street war between two breeds of pigs, the police and the New Left." Illustrating the story was a wonderfully bizarre, crudely rendered drawing of a man who was part truncheon-wielding cop and part Molotov cocktail-tossing radical. That's hardly the sort of take on campus riots you would have seen in the pages of *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, *National Review*, or *Ramparts*.

From its start, **reason** has provided a uniquely libertarian alternative to conventional right-wing and left-wing perspectives on politics and culture. As the magazine of "Free Minds and Free Markets," we champion a world of expanding choice—in lifestyles, identities, goods, work arrangements, and more—and explore the institutions, policies, and attitudes necessary for such a world. We are happy warriors against busybodies, elites, and gatekeepers who insist on how other people should live their lives. Often described as socially liberal and fiscally conservative, **reason** must be the only publication to have won praise from both Rush Limbaugh (he's called us "a good, good magazine"—and we're pretty sure it wasn't just the OxyContin talking) and the ACLU (President Nadine Strossen has hailed us as a "valued ally" and a "passionate defender of free speech"). As the *Columbus Dispatch* has put it, **reason** "manages to offend leftists with its defense of biotechnology, free trade and school choice, even as it appalls conservatives by supporting gay marriage, open immigration and drug legalization."

In the early '70s, Friedlander sold the magazine to three contributors, Robert W. Poole Jr., Tibor Machan, and Manuel Klausner, and **reason** was published out of Poole's Santa Barbara, California, garage for several years. Eventually, **reason** moved into actual offices, first in Santa Barbara and then, in 1986, Los Angeles. We now reside in cyberspace as much as anywhere: I edit the magazine from Ohio; **reason**'s publisher lives in Connecticut; our art director is in Arizona; our Web editor is in San Francisco; and most of our staff is scattered around the greater Washington, D.C., area.

Since its early days, **reason** has grown in readership and stature. Each issue now goes out to close to 60,000 readers, and **reason online** pulls about 675,000 visits per month. We've been a finalist for a handful of National Magazine Awards and, last year, we were a finalist for an Utne

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Independent Press Award for our political coverage and a Western Publications Association "Maggie" Award in the "politics and social issues" category. Earlier this year, the *Chicago Tribune* ranked us at number 21 in their list of "The 50 Best Magazines," writing, "This magazine does everything well: culture, politics, religion, philosophy."

This anniversary issue encapsulates **reason**'s past and its future. In "35 Years of **reason**: A history in excerpts" (page 32), you'll get a sense of how **reason** and the pressing issues of the day have changed since 1968. Many of the topics that once animated the magazine's pages —the Vietnam War, the draft, the Cold War—thankfully have been swept into the ash heap of history. It's almost quaint to read about Richard Nixon's autocratic wage and price controls or "Gorbomania," the fleeting, oversized adulation of a "genius" statesman whose lasting contribution to humanity was unwittingly dismantling the Soviet Union.

Other things haven't changed all that much. In 1972, for example, **reason** reported on "The New Biology," cutting-edge developments that promised to extend and enrich human lives if we could only "circumvent the recalcitrance of an antiquated culture." Today's hyperbolic fears about cloning, stem-cell research, and similar biomedical technologies testify that our society hasn't become all that less recalcitrant. In the wake of Watergate-inspired campaign finance laws, **reason** wrote that "all of these proposals would deny fundamental rights of individuals, increase the politicians' control of elections and do nothing to eliminate the root causes of Watergate." That's an apt critique of the newest campaign finance law, which is currently (and one hopes successfully) being challenged in the Supreme Court on First Amendment grounds.

Perhaps the most important continuity is **reason**'s insistence that freedom is central to human flourishing. Despite the world's innumerable problems—from terrorism to war to AIDS—no one can deny that the past 35 years have seen incredible political, economic, and social progress. A higher percentage of human beings live under representative governments than ever before and the percentage of people living in poverty is declining worldwide. As important, as we put it in "35 Heroes of Freedom" (page 64), "the world we live in is dizzying in its variety, breathtaking in its riches, and wide-ranging in its options. Malcontents on the right and left...will admit this much: These days we've even got a greater choice of ways to be unhappy." Our list of heroes—certainly the only time that Margaret Thatcher, Madonna, Vaclav Havel, and Larry Flynt have all appeared in the same place—pays eclectic and irreverent tribute to "some of the people who have made the world a freer, better, more libertarian place by example, invention, or action."

And what of the future? In "The Smaller the Better" (page 44), Science Correspondent Ronald Bailey tells us of the latest developments in nanotechnology, "the manipulation of matter at the molecular and atomic level." Nanotech holds forth the possibility of inexhaustible food sources, clean-burning energy, perfectly compatible organ replacement, and much more. Yet even as it promises to create a world beyond scarcity, Bailey reports on a growing call for an immediate, comprehensive, global moratorium that would strangle nanotech in the crib. "While there are grounds for caution," writes Bailey, "the tremendous promise of nanotechnology will never be realized if we allow fear to rule us and give in to those who insist upon zero risk as a condition of progress. The manageable hazards associated with nanotechnology are small compared to the danger posed by the burgeoning movement to stop its development until all objections have been satisfied."

"Poor Man's Hero" (page 56) is an interview with Johan Norberg, author of the invaluable *In Defense of Global Capitalism*. In a conversation that ranges from women's rights to Arab politics to the World Trade Organization, Norberg makes a compelling case that globalization is the best way for people in the developing world to escape not just poverty but other forms of stultifying repression and isolation. In the best **reason** tradition, he makes his toughest case against self-serving political hypocrisy. "We need to explain what's on the line," he pleads, "what the cost is to poor people in the least developed countries. People are *dying* because we in the West are unwilling to change and to actually live by the free market rhetoric we often spout."

The topics may be different from those that appeared in that first mimeographed issue—and lord knows our proofreading skills have improved a bit. But 35 years later, these things remain unchanged about **reason**: a commitment to free minds and free markets; to logic, not legends; and to coherence, not contradictions.

Nick Gillespie (gillespie@reason.com) is **reason***'s editor-in-chief.*

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Ronald Bailey

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RONALD BAILEY, **reason**'s science correspondent since 1998, has a dark secret in his past: He used to work for the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission as an analyst. Back in the 1970s, he recalls, "they were 'deregulating' natural gas, so they had to triple the size of the agency." He soon turned to science journalism because he wanted to report on the ways people's lives were improved by the innovation that democracy and capitalism foster. In this issue, Bailey reports from the front lines of the battle over nanotechnology ("The Smaller the Better," page 44). Bailey is the author of *ECOSCAM: The False Prophets of Ecological Apocalypse* (St. Martin, 1993) and the editor of *Global Warming and Other Eco-Myths* (Prima Forum, 2002).

The son of a Little League coach, Associate Editor MATT WELCH was inspired to become a journalist by the snarky elegance of Bill James' *Baseball Abstract*, which he first read while waiting in line for World Series tickets. James is the most visible proponent of a new statistics-driven management theory called *sabermetrics*. So it's fitting that Welch takes on sabermetrics' critics in his review of Michael Lewis' *Moneyball* ("Balls," page 71), a chronicle of the method's embrace by the Oakland A's. Welch writes a fortnightly column for Canada's *National Post* and maintains a popular weblog at mattwelch.com.

Although he doesn't have a byline in our 35th anniversary issue, no one has contributed more to the longevity and success of **reason** over the years than Robert W. Poole Jr. In the early '70s, Poole and his partners, Tibor Machan and Manuel Klausner, bought the magazine when it was on the verge of bankruptcy. Due to Poole's tireless efforts, **reason** grew from a garage operation in Santa Barbara to a national magazine based in Los Angeles. He's proud, he says, that **reason** worked to avoid "in-group navel gazing," instead becoming a "champion of individualism and markets in the mainstream national debate." He currently serves as director of transportation studies at the Reason Public Policy Institute.

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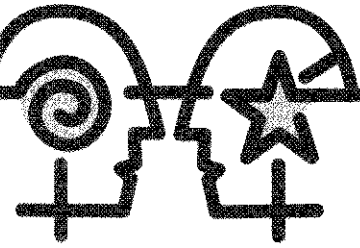

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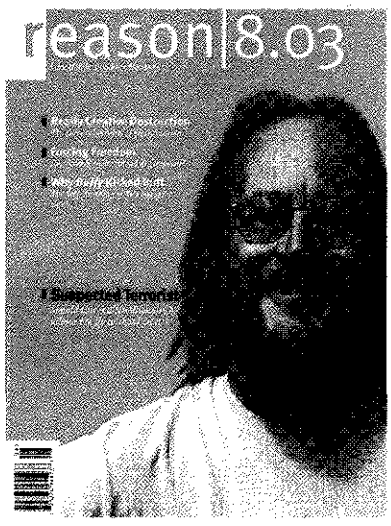

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Suspected Terrorist

In Brian Doherty's excellent article, "Suspected Terrorist" (August/September), he touches on one of the critical reasons why we should be concerned about privacy and data collection in the name of security: We cannot know the future uses for these systems, nor can we know the motives of the future users.

Our history of ignoring the rights of those on the fringe (Native Americans, blacks, and immigrants in the past or drug users today) shows that, as a society, the vast majority are at ease with minor oppression, as long as it does not affect them personally. So it is no surprise that the average person's reaction to increased identification requirements and database collection is indifferent at best. The average person truly believes that this information will not be used against him now or in the foreseeable future.

Nevertheless, the infrastructure established by these measures could be used to suppress and punish dissent, or to terrorize some political minority at some future time. Today's mandatory employment data collection identifying employees by ethnic origin would take on a new and far more sinister character in the hands of a racist regime. If such a political system arose in this country, it would not need to take the radical step of collecting such information—it's already there, ready for application. And by that time, it would be too late to do anything about it.

Michael Curry
Jackson, CA

Congratulations to Brian Doherty on his extremely well-balanced piece about the growing concerns over lack of privacy in this country. Whatever the emotional arguments, it is very hard for libertarians to argue that information they have voluntarily provided to another is not the property of that other person or entity absent a contractual agreement to the contrary. The free market will then determine how many choices (if any) you have among such contracts. In any case, you can still live your life without providing such information to anyone—in fact, your ancestors did. You will simply have chosen to live a 19th-century lifestyle.

Doherty is correct in pointing out the real fear from such databases is from a malevolent government. That fear is best addressed by controls on the government's legitimate span of control. Such databases do have legitimate uses, though: As a police officer, I can assure you that many genuine crimes cannot be effectively solved or prosecuted without them.

Ralph Mroz
Greenfield, MA

John Gilmore's quixotic battle with the airlines may be seen by many as a bit silly, but I'm pleased that someone has the balls to question authority. I offer this little tidbit for Gilmore's use—Title 18, U.S. Code 241, Conspiracy Against Rights: "If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any person in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised same, they shall be fined under this Title or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both."

If the government, as more than likely is the case, is acting in concert with the airlines, then the "two or more persons" threshold has been met. Additionally, the Fourth Amendment comes into play when a someone's "person, papers, and effects" are made insecure by means of an unreasonable search and seizure in order for him to travel

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or move about in a lawful and peaceful manner. After Gilmore loses his case, which he surely will, I suggest that the next time he flies he should duly present his driver's license when requested but wear a face mask while doing so.

K. Eugene Smith
Wellington, NV

Forcing Freedom

Ronald Bailey's "Forcing Freedom" (August/September) and the ensuing debate from Christopher Hitchens, Christopher Preble, and Ivan Eland would deserve to be presented with **reason**'s Most Important Article of the Year Award, if there were one. This is a major contribution to the idea of promoting international freedom while securing a more relaxed domestic policy for ourselves. I find it truly amazing that there is no such policy in effect at this time and wonder if politics had a hand in failing to continue the Reagan Doctrine mentioned by Bailey.

Roberto Sanabria
Knoxville, TN

While I won't take issue with many of the good points raised in Christopher Preble's contribution to the debate on the relative merits of nation building, I will never quite grasp the mind-set of those who argue, as he appears to, that we should be circumspect in our attempts to "force democracy down the throats of the approximately 3 billion people who currently live under some other system of government."

Is it not true in literally every such case that whatever system they may live under was, in fact, forced down their throats? Do the Chinese or North Korean Communists or the cronies of dozens of tin-pot dictators from Africa to Burma derive their just powers from the consent of the governed?

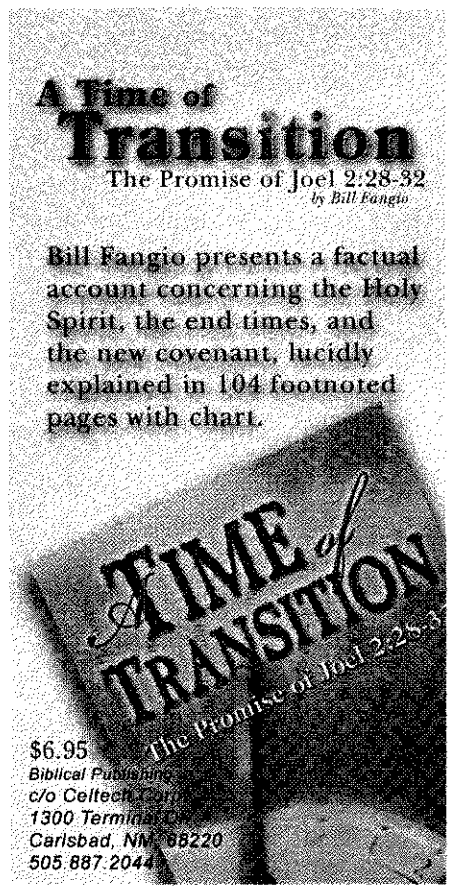
Nor is it at all clear to me how freedom can be "forced" on anyone. Don't most people want simply to live? Is this not true whether they're Christian or Muslim, Arab or Anglo? How can a system which allows this to happen to the greatest extent possible be any sort of "imposition" on any group of people?

If we're all largely the same when the window dressing of language, culture, and religion is removed, then I wonder why it is often argued that democracy won't work if a nation and its people lack democratic "traditions." Until 1945, Japan was first a feudalistic, then a rigidly militaristic society where questioning authority was unforgivable and the ruling class entertained itself testing sword blades by beheading peasants. But people are people, and look at the intrepid Japanese now! Freedom can envelop the world! It can be done, and it should, even with great sacrifice, if we are to say we love humanity.

Sean Smith
Roseburg, OR

Ronald Bailey's principal error in his advocacy of a coercive, democratizing foreign policy is to believe the myth that "the spread of liberal, free market democracy in the 20th century has been accomplished largely by force of arms—largely, in fact, by force of American arms." This is astonishingly incorrect, and from this bad assumption flows Bailey's unfortunate prescription for interventionism.

In Europe, even during the 19th century, the liberal order was established through internal reform. Violence motivated by democratic zealotry only encouraged the suppression of liberalism and the delayed creation of liberal societies. In the 20th century, one of the greatest liberations in human history—the freeing of Eastern Europe and Russia from communism—was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accomplished without violence. Liberal society in India was achieved without recourse to a violent liberation, and those societies in the developing world that succumbed to the rhetoric of violent revolution have almost universally fallen under some form of despotism or dictatorship. No government has ever competently designed a blueprint for a free society, because such societies cannot be created by fiat.

Warmongering liberals have effectively been as great a bane to human liberty at home and abroad as any foreign dictator, and a considerable number of modern despotisms have emerged from the wreckage of misguided liberal zeal. Indeed, even the liberations of World War II and the Cold War were damage control of the mess made by the folly of Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd George. It would be inexcusable to repeat those errors today with the false conviction that liberty will thereby triumph. No matter which side wins such battles, liberty will consistently be the loser.

Daniel Larison
Albuquerque, NM

I found Ronald Bailey's recent prescription for a libertarian foreign policy personally inspiring. In order to make sure that my neighbor never came over to rape my wife and burn down my house, I shot him. Then I figured that I could freely negotiate a contract with his son to mow my lawn. His son did seem a little upset, however, babbling on about eternal revenge and blood feud. No matter.

Bailey's call for the re-emergence of the Reagan Doctrine was particularly brilliant. If that ain't libertarianism, then I don't know what is. Pour an endless stream of taxpayers' dollars and debt into an endless stream of insurgencies, counter-insurgencies, and counter-counter-insurgencies. Most of the carcasses or mutilated survivors will be only Third World peasants. Their lives are of no consequence, compared to the free markets which would spring forth, along with regulation, taxation, subsidization, and other free institutions like we have here. And if some of those foreigners and Third World victims get mad and want to hurt us back, well, we may have to hold on to that intrusive national security apparatus, just for a little while.

John Spain
Richmond, VA

Ronald Bailey replies: I find Mr. Larison's account of liberalism's progress a bit odd. The ideology of liberalism spread through Europe in the 19th century in the wake of Napoleon's armies. After Napoleon, the *ancien régimes* of France, Prussia, and Austro-Hungary did reluctantly liberalize under the pressure of a growing middle class. Mr. Larison confuses the last stage of a process with the whole process.

The notion that Russia and Eastern Europe were freed without violence is myopic. The Cold War was in fact fought with a succession of small hot wars in Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Afghanistan, Angola, and Nicaragua, among other places. And let's not forget the sustained buildup of nuclear and nonnuclear forces throughout Europe. The collapse of the Soviet Union occurred when the Communist elite, under relentless military and economic pressure from the West, no longer believed their system could win.

A liberal India was possible only because it was conquered by the British, who imposed liberal institutions on the subcontinent. The claim that World War I was fought over liberalism is simply wrong; it was a balance-of-power war.

As for Wilson and Lloyd George, they believed in the self-determination of states, but true liberalism believes in and promotes the self-determination of individuals. That's the policy I called for in my article. As for Mr. Spain, he should ponder deeply the excellent points made by Sean Smith above.

Account Balance

I enjoyed Tim Cavanaugh's article ("Account Balance," August/September) but believe it only touched the tip of the iceberg. In contrast to the public mess of Worldcom, Enron, Tyco, etc., U.S. citizens have no clue of the rampant fiscal abuse that takes place every day within our government.

I offer you the Bureau of Prisons, where we blindly entrust a government agency with no direct oversight to spend our tax dollars without being required to provide audited financials to justify expenditures.

In the month of August at one federal prison camp, thousands of dollars worth of goods and equipment were destroyed. Some of these items were used military surplus, but more than half were brand-new items, some of which were still in original containers. According to a former guard who contacted my organization, there is no requirement to inventory such goods. We indict and jail corporate officers for not complying with similar requirements.

Ellen M. Salisbury
Federal Prison Policy Project
Reynoldsburg, OH

Why Buffy Kicked Ass

Virginia Postrel's piece on *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* ("Why Buffy Kicked Ass," August/September) is a welcome meditation on the libertarian aspects of that series, although Buffy is not always consciously or consistently an advocate

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of free markets or individual liberty. (Creator Joss Whedon actually explored those themes more with his short-lived TV space opera *Firefly*.)

One of the ongoing subplots of the series is Buffy's struggle to take back control of her life from the amoral Watchers Council, which for centuries has not only trained but dominated each generation's Slayer. Gradually, Buffy realizes that she does not need the council and that its directors have tried to control her in no small part because they fear her. (A chief mystery of the series is why there is only one Slayer when there are so many vampires; it turns out that those who created the first Slayer made only one precisely because they feared having more.) At the end of the series's third season, the following exchange occurs between Buffy and Wesley, the new and incompetent watcher the council has just assigned to her:

Wesley: The council's orders are to concentrate on...

Buffy: Orders? I don't think I'm going to be taking any more orders. Not from you. Not from them.

Wesley: You can't turn your back on the council.

Buffy: They're in England. I don't think they can tell which way my back is facing.

Whatever Buffy lacks here in strict logic, she more than makes up for in autonomous spunk, showing us the true spirit of a hero.

By the way, although the series was in production and ready to air in 1996, it did not begin broadcast that year, as Postrel suggests, but had to wait until the spring of 1997. It was actually on the air for six and a half years rather than the commonly cited seven.

Miles Fowler
Charlottesville, VA

The Sound of Great Ideas!

The 26 audio cassettes listed here were chosen by a panel of experts who were asked to select only tapes which would be timely and relevant. Each has passed the simple test of genuine interest: "Would you want to listen to this tape again?"

HEAR these famous speakers:

- (A) **R. Bradford & L. Read:** *Heritage & How to Advance Liberty* (84 min.)
- (B) **M. Rothbard & J. R. Peden:** *Libertarianism in American History* (88 min.)
- (C) **Wm. Marina:** *A Libertarian View of the American Revolution, 1976* (48 min.)
- (D) **Milton Friedman:** *The Role of Government in Our Society* (58 min.)
- (E) **Nathaniel Branden:** *Victimless Crimes & Libertarian Philosophy* (58 min.)
- (F) **Nathaniel Branden:** *Common Fallacies About Capitalism* (75 min.)
- (G) **Friedrich Hayek:** *U.S. Policy Guarantees Inflation* (38 min.)
- (H) **Ludwig von Mises:** *Why Socialism Always Fails* (86 min.)
- (I) **Ludwig von Mises:** *Liberty and Property* (43 min.)
- (J) **Murray Rothbard:** *How Government Destroys Our Money* (59 min.)
- (K) **H. Hazlitt & B.Rogge:** *Economics & Economic Freedom* (61 min.)
- (L) **L. Read & D. Russell:** *Need for Free Markets & Less Government* (65 min.)
- (M) **Roger A. Freeman:** *The Effects of Federal Aid to Education* (43 min.)
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- (O) **Karl Hess:** *The Future of Civilization* (63 min.)
- (P) **A. Szent-Gyorgyi:** *Misplaced Ideas about Democracy* (25 min.)
- (Q) **Walter Block:** *The Ethics of Libertarianism* (41 min.)
- (R) **Barry Goldwater:** *Conscience of a Conservative* (58 min.)
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- (T) **Friedrich Hayek:** *The End of the U.S. Dollar Monopoly* (40 min.)
- (U) **H. Edward Rowe:** *Free Enterprise* (55 min.)
- (V) **Robert LeFevre:** *Coming Alive–Fundamentals of Libertarianism (74 min.)*
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- (X) **Bruno Bettelheim:** *Man's Identity in a Mass Society* (48 min.)
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- (Z) **John Galbraith:** *Economics and the Public Purpose* (56 min.)

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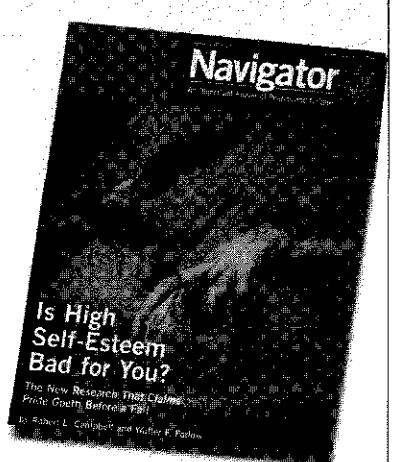

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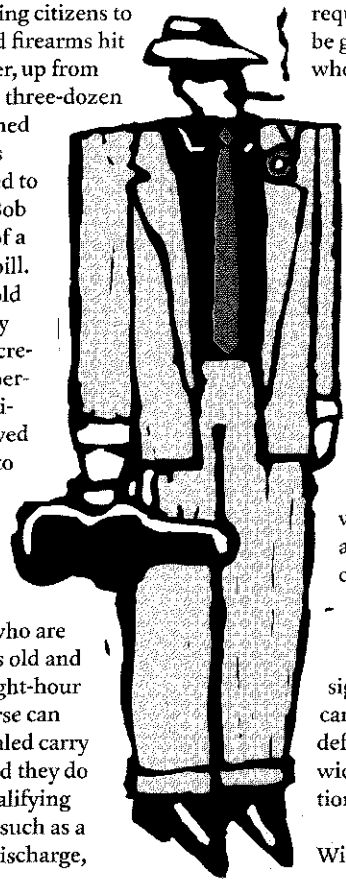
Religion vs. gender; Heinlein's new oldie; skyrocketing college costs; music meltdown; libertarians for Dean; agency provocateur

Concealed weapon laws

Carry On

Jacob Sullum

THE NUMBER OF states that allow law-abiding citizens to carry concealed firearms hit 36 in September, up from 10 in 1986. The three-dozen mark was reached after Missouri's legislature voted to override Gov. Bob Holden's veto of a right-to-carry bill.



Missouri's old law gave county sheriffs the discretion to deny a permit to any applicant they believed was "a danger to himself or others." Under the new law, which took effect in October, residents who are at least 23 years old and who take an eight-hour gun safety course can obtain a concealed carry permit provided they do not have disqualifying characteristics such as a dishonorable discharge, a felony record, or a recent conviction for a violent misdemeanor.

Thirty-one other states have such "shall issue" laws, which require that a permit be given to anyone who meets a set of uniform, specific criteria. Two states, Alabama and Connecticut, have discretionary permit policies that the National Rifle Association deems "fair," and two others, Vermont and Alaska, do not require permits at all. Alaska, which used to have a "shall issue" law, changed to the more permissive approach in June.

Other recent signs that a right to carry guns for self-defense is gaining widespread recognition:

• In July the Wisconsin Supreme Court ruled that the state's 130-year-old ban on concealed carry violates a 1998 amendment to the state constitution guaranteeing "the right to keep and bear arms for security, defense, hunting, recreation or any other lawful purpose." (By contrast, the Ohio Supreme Court upheld that state's 144-year-old ban in a September 24 ruling that overturned a 2002 state appeals court decision.)

• In May a Colorado "shall issue" law took effect, requiring that a concealed carry permit be granted to "any competent person over 21" who is properly trained and passes a criminal background check.

• In April, Minnesota Gov. Tim Pawlenty signed a similar "shall issue" law.

Gun control critics such as John Lott, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, argue that right-to-carry laws have had a measurable impact on crime by making predators think twice about targeting victims who may be armed. (See "Cold Comfort," January 2000.) While those findings remain controversial, the proliferation of "shall issue" laws has forced anti-gun activists

25 years ago in reason

"[The CIA] was so sure that Soviet defector Yuri Nosenko was a KGB double agent that they confined him in a secret underground vault for over three years while trying to force him to 'confess.'"

—Bill Birmingham, Brickbats

"If it is important that noncombatants be immune from attack, it is important that the combatants be distinguishable....We should not scorn those who delight in wearing military uniforms, for they groove on the garb that demarcates them as legitimate targets."

—Robert Nozick, "Hard Thoughts About Warfare"

"No politician of our time can indirectly act to increase his private future; but we remain blind to the direct influence that government employees can exert on their own wages via their support for larger and larger budgets."

—James M. Buchanan, "Truth As Bestseller"

"It is no accident that libertarians tend to be buoyantly optimistic while conservatives are suffused with pessimism. In fact these seemingly purely personal reactions are really a function of the general world outlook of both schools of thought."

—Murray N. Rothbard, "Optimism and Pessimism in Hong Kong"

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to concede that they were wrong to predict that letting people carry guns would lead to Wild West–style violence.

"My conclusion, looking at crime rates and concealed carry permits, is that it doesn't have any effect on crime," Jim Kessler of Americans for Gun Safety told *The Washington Times* in August. "It doesn't add to crime either. It's basically a wash."

Religion vs. gender

Dueling Discriminations

Rachel Alembakis

CAN A HANDSHAKE be grounds for a lawsuit? Perhaps, under a European Union directive passed in 2000 requiring member states to crack down on workplace discrimination on the basis of gender, sexual orientation, and religion. The United Kingdom passed legislation prohibiting religious discrimination earlier this year, with provisions set to take effect in December. But a report by the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD), a professional association for managers, raises the specter of dueling discrimination lawsuits pitting religious and gender discrimination claims against each other.

As an example of a possible conflict, imagine a man whose religious beliefs prohibit contact with women. Does his refusal to shake hands with female colleagues constitute gender discrimination? Or is it religious discrimination if his female superiors take offense? Under the new legislation, it's not clear, according to Dianah Worman, head of diversity for CIPD. "The point of the directive wasn't to make one type of discrimination more important than the other," Worman says. "The intention isn't a pecking order....We'll have to wait until it all comes out. The courts will be the testing ground."

In the next few months, employers will be considering the legal implications of having alcohol at work functions and the logistics of allowing employees time for prayer. The legal muddle is due to get cloudier still in 2006, when E.U. members must add a prohibition on age discrimination to the mix.

Heinlein's new oldie

Time Enough for Love

Matt Welch

ROBERT A. HEINLEIN'S late wife, Virginia, used to tell people that before the science fiction legend died in 1988, the couple decided to burn all the remaining copies of his unpublished first novel, *For Us, the Living: A Comedy of Customs*. The book, written during Franklin Roosevelt's second term, had been "deemed unpublishable, mainly for the racy content," according to an article by the Heinlein Society's Deb Houdek Rule. "So racy is/was the content that in the 1930s the book could not even have been legally shipped through the US mail!"

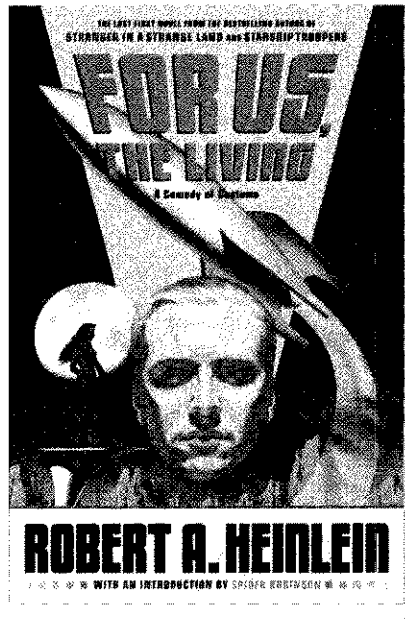
This November, *For Us, the Living* is being brought back from the dead, thanks to some nifty detective work by Heinlein Society researcher Robert James, who stumbled across a reference to the novel a year ago in the unpublished notes of biographer Leon Stover. Stover's former research assistant had a rare copy of the manuscript, which he sent to James within days of Virginia Heinlein's death in January 2003.

"I really didn't want to be disappointed, but I was terrified that I would be," says Heinlein Society President David Silver, one of just a handful of people to read the book before it was sold at auction by the author's estate to Scribner's and Pocket Books this summer. "I read the first few chapters of it, and I said 'Yep, this is going to have to be published.'"

The story concerns a young naval pilot who dies but then wakes up in a new body in a future where society has changed drastically. "The story is basically a lecture on two ideas," Silver says. "One is the social credit theory of economics, and the other thing—the thing that libertarians are going to love—is that government has no business in any part of the private life of its citizens, so long as they're not harming someone."

Fans of the author's individualistic later work may be surprised to learn that their hero was an enthusiastic supporter of Upton Sinclair and left-wing economic ideas back in the day. "Heinlein was a kind of socialist, no ifs, ands, or buts about it, during the period that he wrote *For Us, the Living*," Silver says.

He was also recognizably the same man who would later write the free love odysseys *Stranger in a Strange Land* and *Time Enough for Love*. "The book reads like late Heinlein in many ways—one of which is his advocacy of sexual openness and freedom, in the context of love," James wrote on the alt.fan.heinlein newsgroup this summer. "There's a scene in the novel that would not have been publishable until a good 20 years later."



For Us, the Living (cover)

Quotes

"I'm almost tempted to go onto Kazaa and download some of my own music, just to see if the RIAA would sue me for having MP3s of my own songs on my hard-drive."

—musician Moby on the Recording Industry Association of America's lawsuits against file traders, posted to Moby.com on September 29

"They will kiss the shrines and they will spend....You put up a concession here, maybe a tent, people can stop here and have a snack. It's going to be real nice."

—entrepreneur Wathiq Hindo on Baghdad's tourist potential, quoted in the September 8 *New York Times*

Source

Former Rep. James Traficant (D-Ohio) notwithstanding, the United States' government is only the world's 87th most corrupt—slightly more honest than Chile's, though not quite as clean as Austria's. Maybe it's because the politicians are scared of us: We're 23rd in murders per capita, sandwiched between Uruguay and Bulgaria. You can map, graph, and rank countries in these and hundreds of other categories, from television ownership rates (we're fourth) to water pollution (30th, between Hungary and Turkey) at nationmaster.com. Just keep repeating to yourself: "Correlation is not causation."

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Brickbats

When some students from the Lubbock Independent School District in Texas asked to start a gay-straight alliance, Superintendent Jack Clemmons said no. But it wasn't prejudice against gays that prompted his decision, he claimed. "I would have denied other clubs whose basis was sex," he said. "I would have denied a Bestiality Club. I would have denied a Gigolo Club. I would have denied a Prostitute Club. Likewise, I would deny any club that has as its basis an illegal act, such as the Marijuana Club, Kids for Cocaine, the Drinking Club, etc." Even as he was making that decision, Clemmons allegedly was conducting an affair with a school employee, on school property, on school time.

Russian President Vladimir Putin has signed a decree forbidding the media from revealing details of political candidates' personal lives or analyzing their policies. It also forbids them from forecasting the results of any election and requires them to give equal time and space to all candidates. The government says the law will prevent negative campaigning.

China's rulers don't seem to be handling criticism well either: They've banned *Lara Croft, Tomb Raider: The Cradle of Life*, saying it portrays the country negatively. Censors complained the film made China appear to have no government and implied that it was run by secret societies.

The village board in Colfax, Illinois, mandated that all village employees be subject to random mandatory drug tests. But when the city clerk explained that they, too, were technically village employees, and therefore subject to the tests, the board members promptly rewrote the law to exempt themselves.

Charleston, South Carolina, wanted help tracking down the man who robbed a local bank, so officials released a surveillance photo of the robber to newspapers, TV stations, and other media outlets. After receiving an unhappy call from the family of the man in the picture, police realized he wasn't the robber, only a customer who had been in the bank during the robbery.

Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe's retirement home will be as large as a medium-sized hotel. The three-story home, which sits on three acres of land, includes an office suite, two-story reception rooms, and up to 25 bedrooms, complete with adjoining bathrooms and spas. Architects who have seen photos of the building say it likely will cost more than $9 million. Meanwhile, the nation's economy is a shambles, and the World Food Program estimates that almost half the population will need food aid by the end of the year.

If you ask the IRS a question about your taxes, you've got a better than even chance of getting a correct answer, but just barely. Treasury Department investigators posing as taxpayers found that IRS help centers gave correct answers just 57 percent of the time. About 12 percent of the time, they told the investigators to do their own research, even though IRS policy forbids them to say that.

Charles Oliver

Skyrocketing college costs

Economic Education

Julian Sanchez

IT DOESN'T TAKE a Ph.D. to see that college tuition costs are skyrocketing. Data from the Census Bureau and College Board show it will cost you 202 percent more to sport a mortarboard today than it did in 1981, and during the last year alone

average tuition costs have risen 9.6 percent at public four-year institutions and 5.8 percent at private schools. Government has attempted to help families foot the bill through a combination of subsidies and tax credits. But is this purported solution really part of the problem?

A recent study by Rep. Howard "Buck" McKeon (R-Calif.) and Rep. John Boehner (R-Ohio), entitled "The College Cost Crisis," reports with alarm that "though funding for the Pell Grant program has increased dramatically over the past three decades," college is becoming less affordable. The testimony of Patrick Kirby, dean of enrollment at Missouri's Westminster College, cited in the same report, suggests that *because* would be more accurate than *though*.

"Using more and more of our financial aid to offset higher tuition was a double-edged sword," Kirby told a congressional subcommittee. "Increasing financial aid led to higher tuition—which in turn created the need for more financial aid. The result was an endless spiral of increased costs, much of which was absorbed by parents and students."

Tax credits don't seem to work any better. In a working paper for the National Bureau of Economic Research, Bridget Terry Long of the Harvard Graduate School of Education concludes that educational tax credits have no discernible positive effect on enrollment. Yet "large institutional and state responses were found when examining the pricing trends of public colleges," Long writes. "Many states appear to have responded to incentives to increase the prices of colleges at which students face a low marginal cost due to the tax credits."

Perhaps Congress could use a class on the law of supply and demand.

Redmond's ad restrictions

Moving Violation

Jacob Sullum

THE STATE OF Washington's constitution guarantees that "every person may freely speak, write and publish on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right." But according to the city of Redmond, some subjects are so objectionable that speaking about them in public is beyond the pale. Bagels, for instance.

In June the city ordered Dennis Ballen, owner of Blazing Bagels, to "cease and desist immediately" from advertising his wares on a sign worn by an employee standing at the corner of Northeast 70th Street and Redmond Way Northeast. The offending message, which read "Fresh Bagels—Now Open," was

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Balance Sheet

Jeff A. Taylor

Political Poison

A survey of people aged 15–26 by the Representative Democracy in America Project finds the job of politician is held in low regard by young people. The most popular profession among respondents is businessperson.

Red Weddings

China abolishes the requirement that workers obtain their employers' approval before getting married. The change prompts a run on marriage licenses.

High-Stakes Chip

Companies such as Affymetrix, Agilent, and Applied Biosystems compete to perfect gene chips, the building blocks of a biotech revolution. Such chips, which are capable of holding ever larger portions of the human genome, will help researchers discover new treatments for a host of ailments.

Heavy Rotation

Rock stars blast record companies for filing lawsuits against music downloaders. Members of the Grateful Dead and Disturbed call for new music distribution models, and Chuck D of Public Enemy says the industry's legal threats are "pure Gestapo."

'Bama Boosters

Alabama voters overwhelmingly reject a $1.2 billion tax hike touted as the only way to save the state from certain ruin. Cutting unneeded state spending was the public's preferred solution.

Packer Pride

Wisconsin Gov. Jim Doyle tells his own Department of Revenue to leave alone people who turn their yards into parking spaces for Green Bay Packer games. The state had sent letters demanding that anyone who charged for parking cough up a $20 license fee and collect sales tax on parking proceeds.

Cable Disservice

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit declares cable modems to be phones, making them subject to more stringent regulation. Upcoming rulings are rumored to conclude that up is down and black is white.

Silent Majority

The U.S. muzzles Iraqi opposition to the use of Turkish troops in Iraq. The Governing Council is not allowed to release a statement condemning the introduction of forces from neighboring countries into their homeland.

Site Unseen

Rudolph Giuliani says too small a memorial on the site of the World Trade Center will tell future generations that all America cares about is "greed." He supports designs that turn the space away from commercial uses.

Handling Charges

Those new federal security screeners at airports are never asked to find dangerous things in luggage, a review of their hiring and testing procedures finds. Instead they take multiple choice tests asking things like, Why do we try to stop bombs from getting aboard planes?

Mosquitoes Bite

Cases of malaria rocket in Africa and Asia as mosquito eradication falls off. An estimated 900 million worldwide are infected. Sometimes the supposed harm of insecticides is dwarfed by the real harm of disease.

Garage Banned

Latest Digital Millennium Copyright Act abomination: feuding garage door openers. The Chamberlain Group charges rival Skylink with stealing its proprietary codes so Skylink devices can open any garage door. Consumers just want their damned doors to work.

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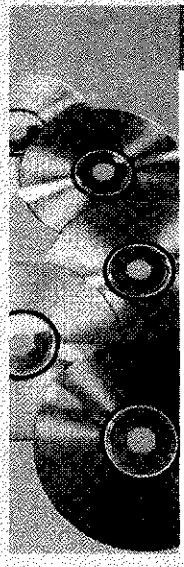
Data

Music Meltdown

Nick Gillespie

Ever since Napster mainstreamed unauthorized sharing of copyrighted materials, record labels have been singing the blues—and for pretty obvious reasons. The October issue of *Wired* reports that overall revenue for prerecorded music in 2002 was $12.3 billion, down 13 percent from a high of $14.2 billion in 1999. The labels (and many artists) chalk all the bad news up to copyright infringement—economists estimate that illegal downloads cost the industry as much as $1 billion a year—and have taken to suing individual malefactors.

But *Wired*'s Rebecca Harper notes that a good chunk of the decline stems from the music biz's own actions. It has steadfastly raised prices on CDs while releasing less new music. "Hey labels, want some unsolicited advice?" she writes. "Give the people what they want: more music at cheaper prices." The world's second largest label, Universal Music Group, has gotten the message; it recently announced it was trimming its CD prices by one-third.



Music Industry Trends

	CD Prices (in 1997 dollars)	New Releases
1997	$13.19	33,700
1998	$14.09	33,100
1999	$14.45	38,900
2000	$15.02	35,516
2001	$15.32	31,734
2002	$15.25	33,433

Source: *Wired*

› Ballen's way of attracting customers who otherwise might not notice his shop on a relatively quiet street off of Redmond Way. Unfortunately, the sandwich board also drew the attention of Redmond's regulators, who have decreed that the content of portable signs must be limited to three topics: real estate, politics, and celebrations.

With help from the D.C.–based Institute for Justice, which recently opened a chapter in Washington state, Ballen has challenged the sign ban in King County Superior Court. The lawsuit argues that Redmond's rules violate the state and federal constitutions by restricting speech based on content and by failing to meet the requirements for regulation of commercial messages.

The Institute for Justice said it "hopes to break down the artificial distinction between commercial speech and other forms of speech that generally get greater protection." William Maurer, executive director of the organization's Washington chapter, noted that "commercial speech is often much more important to Americans in their everyday lives than political speech."

A good bagel and a good politician may be equally hard to find. But which would you rather have for brunch? ▯

Libertarians for Dean

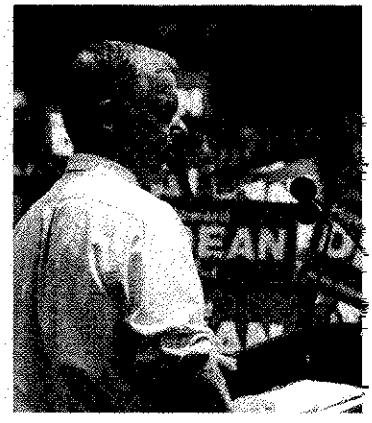
What's Left?

Julian Sanchez

Registered Libertarian Brady Joslin laughs when asked if he ever expected to vote for a Democrat, then exclaims, "Hell, no!" So how did he come to launch a Web site with the double-take-inducing name "Libertarians for Dean"?

Joslin says he was motivated to create a forum for libertarians interested in the presidential candidacy of former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean by frustration with Republicans, for whom many libertarians vote in close elections because of the GOP's stance on economic issues. Despite this traditional affinity, the libertarian search for alternatives to President George W. Bush comes as no surprise to John Samples, director of the Cato Institute's Center for Representative Government, who says that Bush "is a disaster across the board from a libertarian perspective. Non-defense spending is up amazingly, and most libertarians are not happy about the PATRIOT Act. Libertarians got promised Social Security privatization, and what they got was the Iraq adventure. Dean would be the natural place for them to turn."

A Democrat whose signature issue is socialized health care may not seem like the "natural place" for libertarians, but Dean himself sees things differently. In a September *Weekly Standard* article, Club for Growth President Stephen Moore recalled a meeting at which Dean told a group of libertarians that they should "really like my views because I'm economically conservative and socially laissez-faire. Believe me, I'm no big-government liberal. I believe in balanced budgets, markets, and



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deregulation." And Joslin, like many free marketeers, is counting on a Republican Congress to check Dean's more interventionist ideas on issues such as health care.

Dean webmaster Matthew Gross, who links to Joslin's site from the candidate's own weblog, views the phenomenon as perfectly natural at a time when traditional categories of left and right are growing increasingly unstable. "I'd be more surprised if there weren't a Libertarians for Dean site," says Gross, who notes that the governor's support seems especially strong among those who've grown disaffected with the political process.

Howard Dean, John Pettitt/DeanForAmerica.com

Defrauding the left

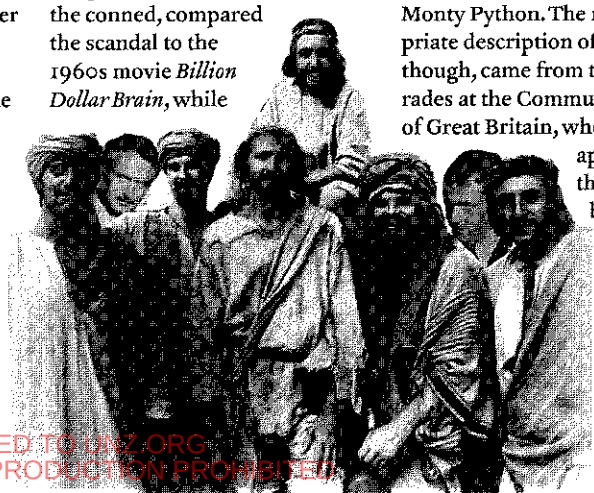
A Bolshie Born Every Minute

Jesse Walker

On August 14, 2003, two British Trotskyists made an unnerving discovery. One, part of a group called Workers Power, had been showing off a photo of himself with two comrades from Ukraine. The other, from the rival International Bolshevik Tendency, realized he recognized the Ukrainians: They were part of *his* party's revolutionary network. The two groups compared notes, the story spread, and it soon became clear that a small group of con men had been bilking at least half a dozen Leninist sects based in Britain and the United States, pretending under different names to be each organization's comrades in Kiev.

According to one report, the con men had originally met in an amateur acting troupe. According to another, they were actually loyal to one of the would-be vanguards, the Committee for a Workers' International (CWI), but had decided to make some money off their intimate knowledge of socialist sectarianism, posing as members of rival parties in order to raise money for their own. (The larger CWI denies involvement in such a scheme, and it has purged its Ukrainian affiliate for its entrepreneurial activities.) Yet another report suggests the fraudsters were hatching plans to move past the penny-ante world of the Marxist fringe and see if they could grift Muammar Qaddafi.

The scam began back in the 1990s, a longevity that suggests both how gullible and how splintered the red remnant can be. The episode also has also revealed that some portions of the Leninist left have a measure of pop culture savvy. The Sparticist League, which was not among the conned, compared the scandal to the 1960s movie *Billion Dollar Brain*, while the International Bolsheviks invoked both Shakespeare and Monty Python. The most appropriate description of the affair, though, came from the comrades at the Communist Party of Great Britain, who had been approached by the Ukrainians but rebuffed their overtures. They called it "*The Sting* meets *Life of Brian*."



Soundbite

Agency Provocateur

Julian Sanchez

Cindy Skrzycki

Federal regulators wield enormous power over American life and commerce, but anyone seeking to understand the reams of rules these agencies produce each year is soon lost in a labyrinth of inscrutable acronyms, technical jargon, and overlapping spheres of authority. Veteran reporter Cindy Skrzycki is a modern day Virgil who since 1993 has guided readers through the dark underworld of Washington's regulatory process in her weekly *Washington Post* column "The Regulators." Her new book, *The Regulators: Anonymous Power Brokers in American Politics* (Rowman & Littlefield), collects some of her most revealing columns from years past, updated with supplemental material to reflect new developments. Assistant Editor Julian Sanchez interviewed Skrzycki in September.

Q: Most regulation now comes via executive agencies rather than the legislative process. When did that start, and why?

A: The regulatory state began growing rapidly in the 1960s with the consumer and environmental movements. It has become a tool for various administrations, be they Republican or Democrat, to get things done. It's a form of executive branch fiat, though the proposals are subject to public scrutiny and comment. As I say in the book, we are a nation of rules as much as laws.

Q: Why do these rules get so much less media attention than legislative acts or court rulings? And why should folks who aren't CEOs or labor leaders be paying attention?

A: The work of regulators is amazingly complex; it can be difficult to understand without an advanced degree. Many of the agencies do not make it a point to propose or issue rules in plain English, though some have made great strides since the Clinton administration in this area. And frankly, regulation just isn't considered as sexy as a presidential horse race or a groundbreaking decision by the Supreme Court.

The public needs to pay attention to regulation because it affects every facet of life—from the size of holes in Swiss cheese to how a nutritional supplement is labeled—and every administration has a lot of latitude in shaping the regulatory state. It has become easier to get involved in regulatory goings-on with the inception of agency Web sites and a government-wide one at www.regulations.gov.

Q: Are there any regulations that stand out as brazenly stupid?

A: The brazenness of various rules is in the eye of the beholder...and the party at the receiving end. I try not to judge. But I do find it fascinating how much attention rule makers pay to minutiae such as the grading of prunes and how certain anatomical parts of pigs should be treated at slaughterhouses so they can't be used for dog treats. Never a dull moment.

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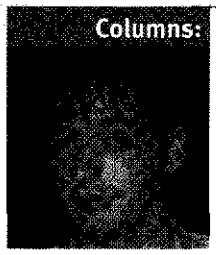

Misreading Millennials

The politics of a rising generation

THE MILLENNIALS—THE teens and young twentysomethings born after 1981—are coming of age at a time when American culture's long-standing youth fetish is reaching autoparodic proportions. Adults today may not smoke dope with the neighbor kids like *American Beauty*'s Lester Burnham or throw raging keggers like the over-30 frat boys of *Old School*, but these pop culture fantasies of regression are symptomatic of an elder generation that often grotesquely identifies with, is fascinated by, and seeks to live vicariously through its offspring.

During the 1990s, federal spending on kids rose faster than spending on seniors or working-age adults for the first time since the 1920s. Yet for all our national obsession with doing things "for the children," there's little agreement on the political character of the largest demographic cohort since the baby boom. The Millennials serve as a political Rorschach test, with partisans of the left and the right each seeing their own proclivities as dominant.

Conservatives can point to a 2002 survey conducted by the University of California at Berkeley, hardly a noted bastion of right-wing bias, that found today's teens are far more likely than adults to support prayer in school, federal aid to faith-based charities, and restrictions on abortion. Or to a recent *Newsweek* Web piece on "The New Cool" that noted the rise of a conservative sensibility even in self-consciously edgy youth magazines. Or to a study by the Harvard Institute of Politics that found college students supporting the war in Iraq by a ratio of 2 to 1. A much cited (and much ridiculed) piece in *The New York Times Magazine* even coined the cringe-inducing term "Hipublicans" to describe the new collegiate right.

But it's not clear that even self-identified young conservatives fit their own pigeonhole. Jim Eltringham of the Leadership Institute, which helps right-wing campus clubs and newspapers get off the ground, attributes the growth of campus conservatism to a backlash against the left's hegemony in university faculties.

Today's students bridle against the academic left's assault on America and American institutions, he argues. But this means that many students are really concluding only by process of elimination that they must be "conservatives." It remains to be seen whether the value set driving such a trend is conservatism per se or merely a kind of reactive nationalism.

Those who lean left can adduce evidence of their own to suggest that kids today are good little progressives. According to the Institute of Politics survey, college students' trust in the federal government, while down from its post-9/11 peak, remains 15 percentage points higher than in 2000, a drastic departure from Generation X skepticism. Then there's the case made by Anna Greenberg of the Kennedy School of Government. While their Gen X predecessors were a highly conservative bunch, Greenberg writes in *The American Prospect*, Millennials have "halted these trends toward Republicanism fairly decisively." She cites their "progressive, populist" attitudes on the environment, gay rights, and affirmative action.

While Greenberg qualifies her conclusions, she also overreaches in inferring a political sea change. She quotes figures showing that today's students are more apt to identify themselves as Democrats than are Gen Xers in their 30s. But since a cohort's views may change as it ages, the comparison is far less revealing than one between the same age group at different times.

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Marc Palmer bought a Passport 8500 and handed down his 1998 V1 to his wife, who was following him on I-40. "I look in my mirror and she had dropped way back," he said. Then his Passport 8500 went off. Too late!

As he was being written up, his wife phoned to say V1 had been warning for seven or eight seconds. "I'd say close to a quarter mile."

"I'm looking forward to my new V1," says Mr. Palmer, after returning his Passport.

Dumped his Passport... for $50

James Wegielewski was driving in a pack with friends on I-78 when his V1 warned of K band. "I radioed the other cars," he said. An M3 ahead, relying on Passport, radioed back he "didn't have anything," and pressed on.

"Right at the top of the hill I saw a frantic dive for the slow lane, with heavy braking" by the M3. Luckily for him, a car ahead got nailed.

"His exact words were, 'I saw the light rack not even a second after my detector went off. I can't believe how early you got a warning.'"

The Passport was sold for $50 that very day, and replaced by a V1.

His Passport is going on eBay®

Justin Kreimer, with both a V1 and a Passport 8500 in his windshield, was southbound on I-85, heading uphill. "The V1 chirps a light warning on Ka band, says 'ahead,'" he remembers, "8500 says nothing. I think for a second about *radartest.com's* test. I decide not to trust it."

"As I get closer to the top, 8500 finally starts to chirp...and there's an enforcer's Camaro hiding in the bushes. V1 warned me a full 3-4 seconds before 8500."

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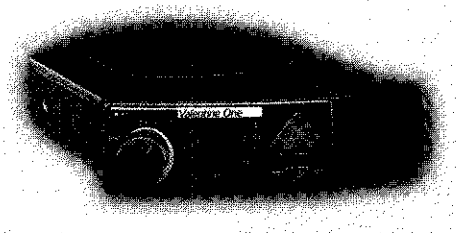

"We've said this before and it's still true: Once you live with the arrows, you'll wonder how you ever managed without them," said *Car and Driver.*

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And Greenberg makes no mention of that Institute of Politics survey, which finds Democratic and Republican self-identification running neck and neck among students at 29 percent and 26 percent respectively. Both parties have lost ground since 2000, with more students now declaring themselves independent, but Democrats have fallen further in the same span of time.

Perhaps the problem is not the data but the models used by partisans. Since our central political metaphor is the left-right spectrum, trends that don't fit well into binary categories tend to be misidentified. To more accurately understand Millennial attitudes, it's useful to dispense with old categories and look at broader cultural trends.

The early 1980s saw the beginning of a significant change in parenting philosophy: Gone were the days when parents were encouraged to seek personal fulfillment, assured that their kids would turn out fine so long as they were given plenty of latitude for their own development. The phrase *latchkey kid*, a media scare term two decades ago, has all but vanished from the press. Social scientists at the University of Michigan found that from 1981 to 1997, the early childhood years for Millennials, children's unsupervised "free" or "unstructured" time declined by 37 percent.

Millennials are the most doted upon, fussed over, and scheduled generation in living memory. Although far less violent than their counterparts of a decade ago, they have grown accustomed to attending schools that resemble airport security lines. In an article in Sweden's *Axess Magazine*, William Strauss and Neil Howe, generational studies gurus and authors of *Millennials Rising*, call today's young adults "America's new conformists," observing that they "believe in security rather than radicalism, political order rather than social emancipation, collective responsibility rather than personal expression."

The defining youth icon of the early '90s was the suicidal Kurt Cobain, the apotheosis of the alienated loner. Now the airwaves are dominated by synchronized, interchangeable boy bands and Gap ads featuring khaki-clad clones. Standing out is out; fitting in is in. As Strauss emphatically says, "This is not a libertarian generation." Gen Xers were stereotyped as politically "apathetic," but as a character in the foundational Gen X film *Slackers* notes, withdrawing in disgust is not the same thing as apathy. Millennials do not withdraw in disgust: They are not only more conformist but more sanguine about politics.

Scott Beale, author of *Millennial Manifesto*, attributes this attitude in part to the political scandals that shaped the different generations. Other recent youth cohorts recall Watergate and Iran-Contra—scandals involving institutional abuse of power. But if you say *scandal* to '80s babies, they're more likely to think of the furor over an intern's position on the presidential staff.

"Millennials," says Beale, "might look at politics and say 'these people suck,' whereas Gen Xers and baby boomers before them were more likely to say, 'Man, these people suck and the system sucks.'" The new attitude may make Millennials dangerously susceptible to that old utopian mantra: "If only we had the right people in charge..." As Strauss observes, boomers and Gen Xers were "raised not to follow Hitler or Stalin; Millennials were a post-consciousness raising generation."

Once those cautionary examples begin to fade, so does the skepticism of power they engendered. Strauss posits that the next decade may see the emergence of a new "middle class populism" if the jobs available as Millennials begin to graduate from college don't match the high expectations set by the tech boom of the '90s.

Media theorist Douglas Rushkoff confesses alarm at the new mind-set he's seen in his visits to American colleges, a trend he half-jokingly describes as "fascism in youth culture." If that characterization seems hyperbolic, we can at least say that Millennials are a highly nationalist and communitarian generation.

Yet Rushkoff does see a way proponents of limited government might appeal to them. Millennials, he points out, are already powerfully engaged in their communities—they are disproportionately likely to volunteer at the local level—and highly goal-oriented in their own lives. If they can be convinced to see government intervention as a barrier rather than a supplement to their local activism and personal aspirations, they may warm somewhat to libertarian ideas.

Or perhaps that's just the Rorschach test talking. Although Gen Xers were often accused of being apathetic, their skeptical, ironic, self-sufficient, and entrepreneurial qualities gave them a natural inclination toward libertarian views. Millennials have no such affinity. If their political engagement continues to be shaped by collectivist ideas, many of us may soon be nostalgic for apathy. ◙

Julian Sanchez (jsanchez@reason.com) is assistant editor of **reason.**

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Divorcées and Social Engineers

Fathers face off against the marriage movement.

IT IS NOW a truth more or less universally acknowledged that children are better off when they have fathers and when their fathers are actively involved in their lives. But where do we go from there? Should the government be promoting fatherhood, marriage, and two-parent families? Or should it simply get out of the way and stop hindering fathers who want to do right by their children? The debate has pitted fathers' rights activists against advocates for marriage and "responsible fatherhood."

The government's fatherhood programs, an offspring of the Clinton era, are thriving under Bush. One Bush-era innovation is marriage promotion: The government has spent millions on programs to encourage poor people on welfare to get married and to help them develop better "marriage skills," an effort that has drawn criticism both from feminists who worry about women being pressured to stay in abusive marriages and from libertarians less than thrilled by social engineering. More recently, some fathers' rights activists have declared the administration's efforts part of an insidious machine that undermines rather than bolsters family and fatherhood.

The first salvo was fired by Stephen Baskerville, a political science professor at Howard University, in a May column for *National Review Online* that decried "government as family therapy." The government, Baskerville wrote, actively undermines marriage by allowing no-fault divorce and pursuing "one of the most dishonest and destructive policies ever foisted on the public: child-support enforcement."

In his view, government programs aimed at inculcating "life skills" and improving relationships simply serve to bring even more of the family under state control. "Here we see the culmination of a government perpetual-growth machine that has been building for decades: Destroy the family through welfare and no-fault divorce; then evict and criminalize the fathers; then institutionalize the children as state wards through various 'services' to relieve single mothers."

Just a week later, the *National Review* site published an acid response from Tom Sylvester, a research associate with the Institute for American Values (co-founded by David Blankenhorn, author of the much-discussed 1995 book *Fatherless America*). Sylvester depicted Baskerville as an extremist spokesman for a "small but vocal group" of disgruntled divorced fathers, and went on to laud the Bush administration's pro-marriage programs as a much-needed effort to strengthen families and thus ultimately help the cause of limited government. More recently, in October, the *MensNewsDaily* site has featured a roundtable discussion between marriage advocates and fathers' rights activists, including Baskerville and Sylvester.

The fathers' rights activists, so often dismissed as angry men, make some excellent points—including some aspects of their critique of the "marriage movement" and the "responsible fatherhood" advocates. Blankenhorn's writings, for instance, are based almost entirely on the assumption that the primary cause of fatherlessness is men walking away from their wives and children. He and other conservatives believe that the answer to father absence is for men to embrace their responsibilities and for society to hold them responsible. In Blankenhorn's striking metaphor, "Men do not volunteer for fatherhood as much as they are conscripted into it by the surrounding culture."

In fact, two-thirds of divorces are initiated

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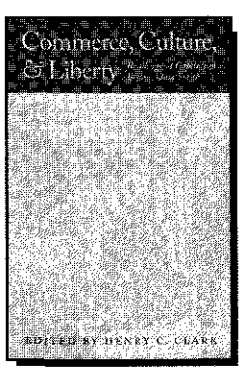

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Henry C. Clark is Professor of History at Canisius College. He has written articles on the French and Scottish Enlightenments and is the author of *La Rochefoucauld and the Language of Unmasking in Seventeenth-Century France.*

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by wives. This isn't just a matter of who officially files for divorce: As Arizona State University psychologist Sanford Braver reports in his 1999 book *Divorced Dads*, about two-thirds of the time it's the wife who wants out of the marriage. In many cases, noncustodial fathers find their relationships with their children thwarted by their ex-wives.

To some extent, government policies contribute to the situation. Despite nominally gender-neutral child custody laws, in practice fathers are still at a disadvantage. What's more, the courts and the government are far more interested in enforcing child support than in enforcing non-custodial parents' access to the children.

Some thought-provoking studies, particularly by University of Iowa law professor Margaret Brinig, suggest that women are more willing to end their marriages because they know they are likely to get sole custody of their children. Brinig and other scholars have also found that more frequent joint custody awards correlate with lower divorce rates.

Unfortunately, many fathers' rights activists undermine their cause by resorting to extreme rhetoric. Baskerville, for instance, claims that courts, lawyers, and bureaucrats have a vested interest in promoting divorce and "ripping away" fathers from their children: As he put in on *The O'Reilly Factor* in October 2000, "the more children they take away from their parents, the more business there is for their courts and for those who are the recipients of their patronage."

When Sylvester pointed out in the *MensNewsDaily* roundtable that a spouse, not the state, files for divorce, Baskerville's retort was even more extreme: "This is like saying the German state was not involved in the Holocaust because its victims were often turned in by their neighbors."

Baskerville, whose diatribes against the "divorce industry" have appeared not only in conservative publications but in libertarian ones such as *Liberty*, makes a good case that divorce increases government control over families. Once a couple has split up, the courts become involved in decisions that were previously made between husband and wife: whether to send the children to a private school, what kind of religious training they should get, how much money to spend on their clothing and other expenses—and, no less important, how much time each parent will spend with the children. But is there any way to avoid that?

Baskerville argues that the spouse who elects to leave the marriage—except on clear grounds of "fault," such as adultery, physical violence, or substance abuse—should forfeit child custody, possibly with little or no access to the children. But not every divorce without an officially recognized "fault" is frivolous, as some fathers' rights activists would suggest.

Baskerville's proposal would force many people to choose between losing their children and remaining in an emotionally intolerable marriage. And one can imagine a disaffected spouse waging psychological warfare to push the other to file for divorce, or making false allegations of physical abuse or other "faults."

Yet there is no getting around the fact that the "marriage movement" supports extensive entanglement between state, therapy, and family. Obviously, we're not talking about shotgun marriages arranged by Big Brother. But in a federally funded pilot program in Oklahoma, cited as a model by marriage promoters, workshops that teach communication, conflict resolution, and other marriage skills are virtually mandatory for welfare recipients.

Principles aside (such as the quaint idea that the government shouldn't be micro-engineering people's private lives), it's hard to imagine that this approach could be effective. Even voluntary, individualized marital counseling is far from a surefire way to keep a marriage together. A large workshop that offers one-size-fits-all solutions to people with distinct personalities and problems doesn't hold out much promise.

Besides, low marriage rates and high divorce rates in low-income communities are related to plenty of economic and social factors that have nothing to do with poor communication. While the problem of fatherlessness is real, a federal initiative that throws taxpayer money at untested programs and turns Uncle Sam into a marriage counselor is not a real solution.

In a culture that values personal freedom, there is no real "solution" to the problem of divorce. Yet there *are* ways to minimize its negative effects, such as creating policies that ensure both parents have a meaningful post-divorce role in the children's lives. Joint custody, the alternative preferred by more moderate fathers' rights advocates, may not be a panacea, but for all its drawbacks, it would accomplish that goal. ▪

Contributing Editor Cathy Young (cathyyoung2@cs.com) is a columnist for The Boston Globe and author of Ceasefire! Why Women and Men Must Join Forces to Achieve True Equality (Free Press).

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Drug Rush

Limbaugh to listeners: I belong in jail!

RUSH LIMBAUGH MAY not be arrested, let alone spend time behind bars, for illegally buying narcotic painkillers. "We're not sure whether he will be charged," a law enforcement source told CNN in early October. "We're going after the big fish, both the suppliers and the sellers."

Following up on a story *The National Enquirer* broke on October 2, CNN reported that the conservative radio commentator's name had come up during "an investigation of a black market drug ring in South Florida," where Limbaugh has a home. A former housekeeper told the *Enquirer* she had sold him tens of thousands of hydrocodone and oxycodone pills during a four-year period.

If Limbaugh escapes serious legal consequences, there will be speculation about whether a pill popper who wasn't a wealthy celebrity would have received such lenient treatment. Still, the distinction between dealer and user drawn by CNN's source is both widely accepted and deeply embedded in our drug laws.

That doesn't mean it makes sense. If drug use is the evil the government wants to prevent, why punish the people who engage in it less severely than the people who merely assist them? That's like giving a murderer a lighter sentence than his accomplice.

Another argument for sending Limbaugh to jail was suggested by the talk radio king himself. In an October 3 column, *Newsday*'s Ellis Henican cited remarks Limbaugh made in 1995 concerning the drug war's disproportionate racial impact. "What this says to me," Limbaugh told his listeners, "is that too many whites are getting away with drug use.... The answer to this disparity is not to start letting people out of jail because we're not putting others in jail who are breaking the law. The answer is to go out and find the ones who are getting away with it, convict them, and send them up the river too."

Before we start building a boat for Limbaugh, perhaps we should consider the arguments for letting him keep his freedom. The strongest is that it's nobody's business but his if he chooses to pop Lorcet and OxyContin, as long as he's not hurting anyone else. When the painkiller story broke, the New York *Daily News* reported that Limbaugh's lawyers "refused to comment on the accusations and said any 'medical information' about him was private and not newsworthy."

On his show the next day, Limbaugh already was moving away from that position, promising to tell his listeners "everything there is." A week later, he announced he was entering treatment for addiction to painkillers he began taking after back surgery. "I take full responsibility for my problem," he declared, while blaming his situation on "highly addictive medication" (thereby reinforcing the opiophobia that has led to scandalous undertreatment of pain in this country).

The quick switch from privacy claim to public confession is reminiscent of Bill Bennett's humiliating retreat on the issue of his gambling. Before renouncing the habit, the former drug czar noted that losing large sums of money on slots and video poker hadn't "put my family at risk." Nor does it seem that the time Bennett spent in casinos interfered with his personal or professional life. It certainly did not keep him away from TV cameras and op-ed pages.

Likewise, drug use did not stop Limbaugh from signing an eight-year contract reportedly worth $285 million in 2001, or from maintaining a demanding schedule that included three hours on the radio five days a week, or from retaining his status as the nation's leading talk radio host, reaching nearly 20 million listeners on about 600 stations. If his housekeeper hadn't ratted on him, we might never have known about all those pills.

I'd say that's how it should have been, except that Limbaugh seems to prefer a different approach. "If people are violating the law by doing drugs," he told his radio audience in 1995, "they ought to be accused and they ought to be convicted and they ought to be sent up." Maybe the government should respect his wishes. ▮

Jacob Sullum (jsullum@reason.com), a **reason** *senior editor, is the author of Saying Yes: In Defense of Drug Use (Tarcher/Putnam).*

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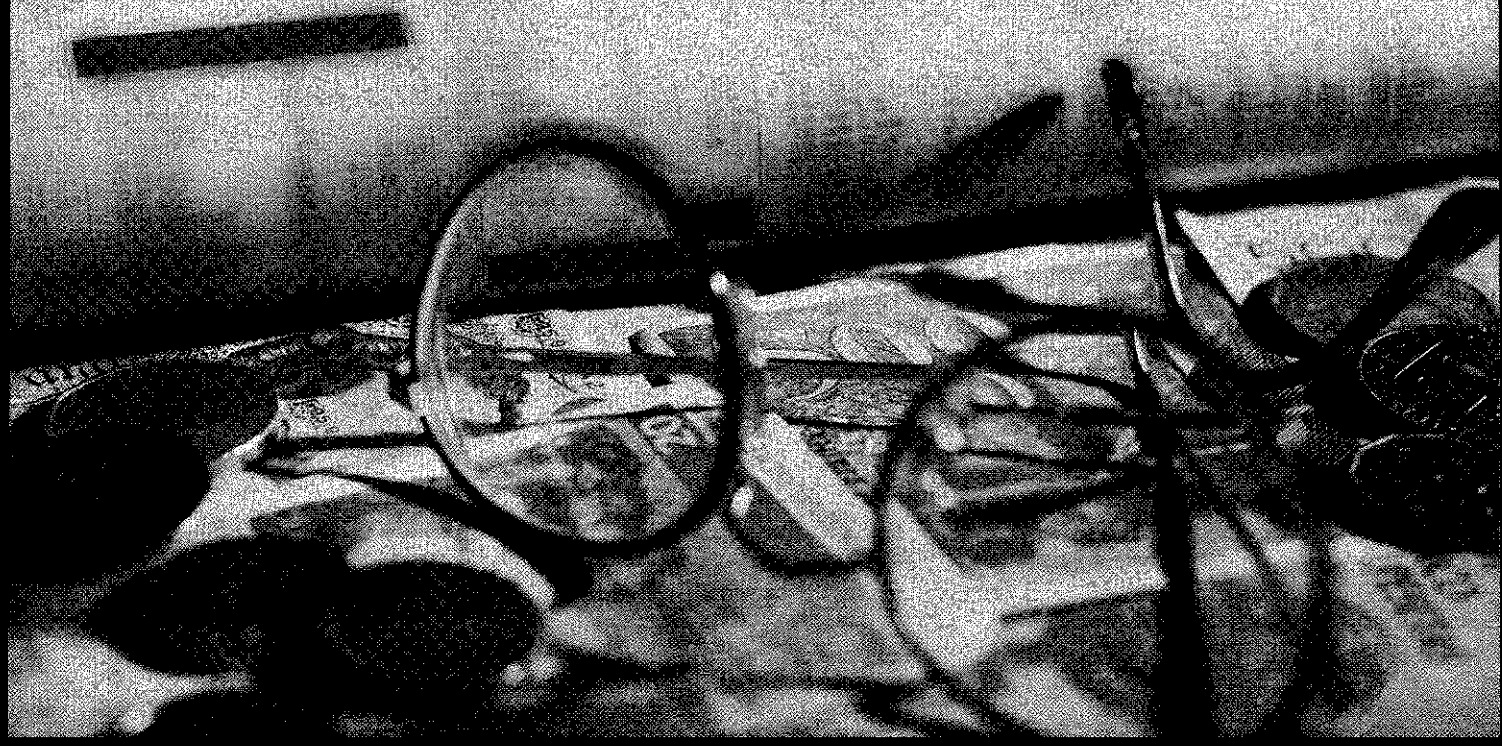

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BY PETE "I BASH BECAUSE I CARE" BAGGE (PETERBAGGE@EARTHLINK.NET)

1968...
IS THIS THE CATERWAULING HARLOT YOU'RE LISTENING TO?
MOTHER, PLEASE...
JANIS REPRESENTS TODAY'S WOMAN'S FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION!
..PIECE O' MY HEART..
2003...
UGH! THE WAY THAT BRITNEY SPEARS PARADES AROUND HALF-NAKED MAKES ME SICK...
OOPS! I DID IT AGAIN...
SHE'S SETTING THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT BACK 35 YEARS!
AND THEY CALL THAT "MUSIC"? SHE CAN'T SING A NOTE!
1968 AGAIN...
DON'T CAVE IN TO PEER PRESSURE, SON! MARIJUANA WILL RUIN YOUR LIFE—
DON'T SPOUT THAT GOVERNMENT PROPAGANDA AT ME, POPS...
POT IS TOTALLY HARMLESS, AND YOU KNOW IT!
"CONTRABAND"
BACK TO THE PRESENT...
AS NEWLY APPOINTED "HEALTH CZAR," I'LL HOLD HOLLYWOOD AND MADISON AVENUE ACCOUNTABLE FOR CONCEALING THE DANGERS OF SMOKING FROM OUR CHILDREN...
AND DON'T EVEN GET ME STARTED ON FRENCH FRIES!
THEN...
THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION MADE ME TAKE DOWN MY PEACE SIGN, SAYING IT MIGHT OFFEND CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE ALUMNI...
BUNCHA FASCISTS!
NO KIDDING! HOW CAN WE EXPRESS OURSELVES FREELY IF WE ALWAYS HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT OFFENDING SOMEONE?!
NOW...
...BIBLE STUDY GROUPS, SADIE HAWKINS DAY DANCES, AND THE TERM "WATER BUFFALO" ARE HEREBY BANNED FROM THIS CAMPUS...
WHILE NO ONE AT THIS SCHOOL HAS COMPLAINED ABOUT ANY OF THE ABOVE, WE'RE TAKING THESE STEPS TO ENSURE THAT NO ONE EVER WILL...
STATE TECH U.
STATE TECH U.

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(the complete vest-pocket optical system)

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Remove the *Episcope™* from its fitted leather case and it's a 30-power microscope. A twist of the wrist converts it to a 3x telescope, or a unique 3x telescope-loupe. Another twist, and you have a choice of magnifiers and loupes: 5x, 10x, and 15x powers. The *Episcope™*, only 2" long, was developed in Wetzlar (Germany), the home of world-famous Leica cameras; it's now being made by one of Asia's finest lens makers. The optics are superb: brilliant luminosity, needle-sharp focus, absolute planarity, total chromatic correction, and fully anastigmatic. The *Episcope™* is the first choice of geologists, biologists, numismatists, philatelists, engineers, and just anybody who likes to see the infinite detail in his/her surroundings. It comes with aplastic "tripod" for extended observations at 15x or 30x magnifications. ***Episcope™* #1062V966a**

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Rodelsonix IX™
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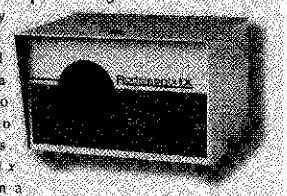

*Rodelsonix IX™ is an industrial-type unit, the most powerful you can get. It's a humane and effective system to get rid of pests.

Rodelsonix IX™ is an industrial-type unit designed and engineered to be effective in restaurants, factories, and food-processing plants. It has six variable pitch and "loudness" settings. You can even adjust it to keep larger pests, such as raccoons or rabbits, at bay. ***Rodelsonix IX™* #1007V966c**

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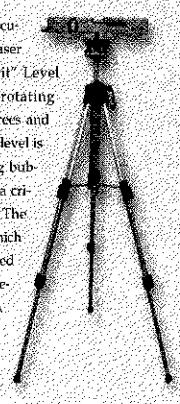

Enjoy the same high degree of accuracy provided by our 16-inch laser level in the upgraded Laser "Spirit" Level which comes with an aluminum rotating bench to allow for leveling 360 degrees and an adjustable aluminum tripod. The level is equipped with a horizontal leveling bubble of high sensitivity which acts as a criterion for the horizontal leveling. The level is also fitted with a red laser which can emit a horizontal or vertical red beam of light up to 1500 feet accurately with just a touch of a button. A tough plastic extruded case conveniently houses the adjustable tripod, the circle bench, lenses, and the level itself. Just adjust the tripod to the level required, attach the circle bench with a screw and insert the laser level into the bench. You are now ready to project a level beam of light anywhere needed. This item takes the "do-it-yourselfer" and professional craftsman to the next "level" offering super accuracy and flexibility with any construction project. ***Laser Level* kit (includes 16" *level*) #1031V966d $69.95, *16" Laser Level* #1104V966e $39.95 or, *48" Laser Level* #1011V966f $49.95, and tripod only is #1032V966g $19.95.**

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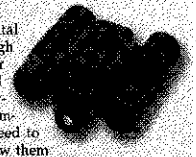

The VistaPix series of digital binoculars consists of a high quality integrated binocular and a state-of-the-art digital camera in one compact, easy-to-use unit. VistaPix comes complete with everything you need to see and store images, and view them on your personal computer or laptop. The VistaPix binocular and digital camera is great for sporting events, concerts and wildlife activities such as hunting or bird-watching. VistaPix lets you record memories and sights at the touch of a button. Use the full-featured binocular for closer views and capture images to take home with you at the same time. With VistaPix you get optical excellence through careful consideration of quality in the glass and lens coatings used, precision manufacturing processes, and uncompromising quality control. The VistaPix will take up to two minutes of continuous video and will save single images as a JPG file and video captures as AVI file. VistaPix comes with Photo Manager Software that allows you to transfer images or video onto your computer for viewing, editing and printing. E-mail pictures to your friends and family. VistaPix also has an LCD screen that displays the mode and numbers of photographs. VistaPix has automatic white balance for color correction in different lighting conditions and an automatic (90 seconds) shut off mode to extend the battery life. Makes a great gift - Everyone needs VistaPix to capture the important moments in life, save them, and send them on! ***Vista Pix™* #1051V966i**

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—from the first issue, May 1968

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35 Years of reason

A history in excerpts

September 1969

A private business whose sales volume had increased 15–20% annually for seven years (and showed many signs of continuing to do so) would probably view its future with eager anticipation. In the government-controlled, privately "owned" cartel known as commercial aviation, however, the expected growth in air travel is viewed...in horror.

—*"Fly the Frenzied Skies," Robert Poole Jr.*

January 1970

We are trapped in the middle of a street war between two breeds of pigs, the police and the New Left.

—*"Animal Farm 1970," Lanny Friedlander*

April/May 1971

The natural tendency of a bureaucracy is to defend and perpetuate itself, to resist all fundamental change. A business which does this eventually goes bankrupt... unless...it can get the State to protect it from competition through a legally enforced monopoly. This, of course, is precisely what the public school system is all about.

—*"The Case for Education Vouchers," Robert Poole Jr.*

October 1971

President Nixon's executive order providing for stabilization of price, rents and wages is an act of supreme defiance against the free market and the freedom of Americans.

—*"The Wage-Price Freeze: Bold Action Against Free Enterprise," Manuel S. Klausner*

August 1972

It is quite possible that the advances in human biology in the remainder of the twentieth century will be remembered as the most significant scientific achievement of the animal species known as *Homo sapiens*. But in order to become a part of medical history, parahuman reproduction and human genetic engineering must circumvent the recalcitrance of an antiquated culture. If they succeed, the rewards will be immeasurable.

—*"The New Biology," Winston L. Duke*

June 1973

A very important secondary objective—second only to the objective of getting a change in our Vietnam policy—was the hope of changing the tolerance of Executive secrecy that had grown up over the last quarter of a century both in Congress and the courts and in the public at large. It seemed to me that our Vietnam policy reflected an accumulation of Executive power, which in turn had exploited very critically this tolerance of Executive secrecy.

—*"Why I Did It!," an interview with Daniel Ellsberg*

July 1974

The Watergate scandal has spawned numerous proposals for limitations on private campaign contributions and total campaign spending, as well as plans to finance campaigns out of tax revenues. All of these proposals would deny fundamental rights of individuals, increase the politicians' control of elections and do nothing to eliminate the root causes of Watergate.

—*"The Libertarian Case Against 'Public' Financing of Elections," Sara Baase*

October 1974

If someone who has more authority or power than you do wants to pin a nasty label on you, and wants to jus-

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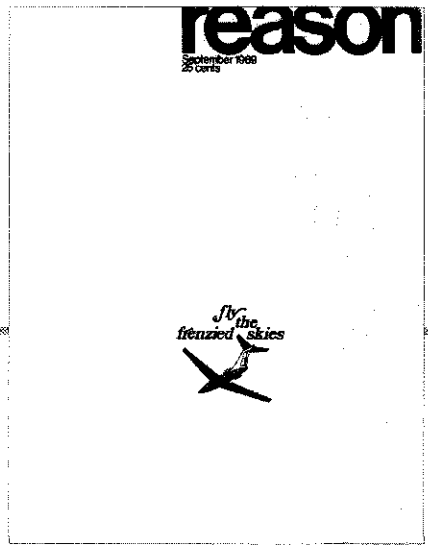

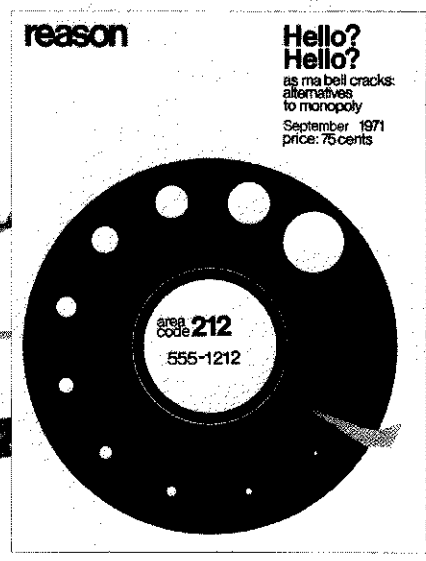

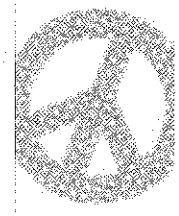

tify this by what drug you take....There is no use telling him that it's none of his business what drug you take: he will...say that you are a menace to civilized society. What you must tell a person who wants to stigmatize you because of the drug you take is not that the *drug is harmless* but that *he is harmful.*

—*"Straight Talk From Thomas Szasz: A Reason Interview"*

July 1975

REASON: Let me ask you do you believe in conscription?

Ronald Reagan: Only in time of war.

REASON: What about in the last 10 years?

Reagan: I disagreed with it, and I'll tell you why: I believe Lenin...on that. Lenin said that he would force the capitalist nations to maintain military conscription until the uniform became a symbol of servitude rather than patriotism.

—*"Inside Ronald Reagan: A Reason Interview"*

October 1975

For six years I refused publicly to pay my taxes in England. I became in my area of business, which is publishing, the biggest single earner of foreign currency from Britain. I structured my company in such a fashion as I did not have to pay the taxes that they would normally require of me. And I gave my reasons. I said you did everything possible to stop me, and a great deal of other things happened in England to show that I was not acceptable to Britain—not being an old public school boy in the British system, not being British, being American, being Italian-American and all that sort of thing—so I said, "Well, fuck you. You know I've worked for this money and it's mine."

—*"Fighting Censorship for Profit: An Interview with Bob Guccione"*

April 1977

I spent four years in 29 jails and prisons on four continents—all this for being in a car where someone else had, without my knowledge, less than half an ounce of marijuana. I wouldn't say my treatment was cruel, but I would say [it was] very unusual.

—*"Timothy Leary's New Trip: A Reason Interview"*

May 1978

The two greatest enemies of free enterprise in the United States, in my opinion, have been, on the one hand, my fellow intellectuals and, on the other hand, the business corporations of this country. They are enemies for opposite reasons.

—*"Which Way for Capitalism?," Milton Friedman*

Don't expect anything of her as a person. Don't expect help. Don't expect understanding. Don't expect sympathy. Don't even expect sanity. Say, "Thank you," and let go.

—*"Thank You Ayn Rand, and Goodbye: Remarks by Nathaniel Branden at Reason's Tenth-Anniversary Banquet"*

Kent State. © J.P. Filo

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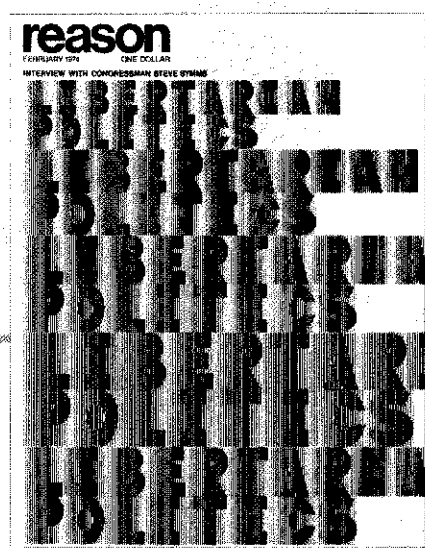

November 1978

America is in controlled revolt. Cued by the media, the people are focusing their rebellion on a single target: taxes. And into this rebellion is going all the frustration of years of living with government that seems more like an uncontrollable cancerous growth than like a public servant.

—*"Seizing the Day," Derek Brownlee*

August 1979

The nature of the computer's information revolution is the exact opposite of that of the steam engine's Industrial Revolution. The steam engine made start-up costs for the individual entrepreneur larger and larger, so that today "there is no way an ordinary citizen could walk into a modern complex factory and use its facilities to construct something useful for himself." But the data banks of tomorrow are going to be places into which every part-time enthusiast can telecommute. In all jobs connected with the use of information, start-up costs for the individual entrepreneur are going to grow smaller and smaller and smaller.

—*"Shrinking Government," Norman Macrae*

April 1980

A look at the record of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms leads to the inescapable conclusion that it is making an art out of...entrapment of innocent and law-abiding citizens....It is clear that the Bureau has purposely created and perpetuated ambiguities, allowing for citizens to be misled into violations of the law. And that's where entrapment, of both licensed dealers and private citizens, enters the picture.

—*"American Gestapo," John D. Lewis Jr.*

July 1980

Turner's 24-hour, all-news network was set to begin service on June 1. The Cable News Network (CNN) will provide detailed analytical coverage of breaking news and important issues to an initial audience that could be four million subscribers. The "big three" networks all publicly scoff at the hint of any real threat to their control of the market. But if past performance is any indication of Turner's entrepreneurial expertise, they may be whistling in the dark.

—*"Cable News Upstart," Patrick Cox*

February 1981

If you believe that the guilty party in the Love Canal tragedy is the Hooker Chemicals & Plastics Corporation, which the Justice Department is suing, rather than the Niagara Falls Board of Education, which bought the dump from Hooker in 1953; or if you believe that Michael Brown's famous book that has become the popular authority on the whole mess, *Laying Waste: The Poisoning of America by Toxic Chemicals*, sets out the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about Love Canal, then you've been snookered.

—*"Love Canal: The Truth Seeps Out," Eric Zuesse*

Vietnam War, AP/Wide World Photos; Richard Nixon saying goodbye, Archive Photos

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June 1981

There is no "Reagan New Deal," and nothing either historic or revolutionary is going on....There are no budget cuts; there is no tax cut. The government deficit continues to be huge; the disastrous inflationary monetary policy continues in place.

—*"The Reagan Fraud," Murray N. Rothbard*

September 1984

In trying to subdue Afghanistan, the Soviets may well be playing a game of Russian roulette. Almost 20 years ago, Louis Dupres predicted, "If you want to kill the Soviet Union, get it to try to eat Afghanistan." After going inside the country twice with the mujaheddin, and personally witnessing the spirit and courage of the Afghan people, I think there is a chance he may be proven right.

—*"Fighting the Soviet Imperialists," Jack Wheeler*

October 1985

Passage of the Indianapolis anti-pornography ordinance is the culmination of a trend toward repression that has been mounting for more than a decade. It also symbolizes the power of a surprising new tactical alliance between left-wing feminists and political conservatives on censorship issues. Those two disparate factions might disagree on everything else, but they are linked by a determination to eliminate the circulation of values they consider anti-social.

—*"Porn Busters," Ted Galen Carpenter*

November 1986

An energetic new prime minister, Jacques Chirac—known as "the Bulldozer" for his determined style when mayor of Paris—has taken office on a platform that includes privatization, tax cuts, deregulation, and other sweeping assaults on the traditional practice of *dirigisme*, or state-directed development.

—*"The French Revolution of 1986," Mark Frazier*

June 1987

Hardly anyone today anywhere in the world will say that the way to get efficient production is through nationalized enterprises or that the way to solve every social problem is to have government throw more money at it. In that area we have won the battle.

—*"Where Are We on the Road to Liberty?," Milton Friedman*

November 1987

Why do you need a Department of Labor, why do you need a Department of Agriculture, why do you need a Department of Commerce? You can go down the whole list—you don't need any of them, really.

—*"Interview with Clarence Thomas"*

May 1988

What a difference 20 years makes, even in the everyday accoutrements of life. In 1968 you could still get in trouble for hooking up a "foreign attachment"—like an answering machine or a designer extension—to your

Gerald Ford, Library of Congress; Gas crisis, AP/ Wide World Photos

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phone line....To travel long distance, you could choose between two (or sometimes three) airlines. You asked your travel agent what the price was—not what discount fares were available but simply *the* price, the one set by the government. The roundtrip coach fare from New York to Los Angeles was $948 in today's dollars.

Numerous personal freedoms that we take for granted were very tenuous in 1968. Unmarried couples staying in hotels had to pretend they were married—sex between consenting adults was still illegal in numerous states.

—*"Things Are a Lot Groovier Now," Robert W. Poole Jr.*

November 1989

The [Agricultural] Department's budget was $51 billion last year—more than the total net income of American farmers.

—*"Bitter Harvest," Karl Zinsmeister*

January 1990

These are exhilarating times. History seems to be moving in the direction of liberty. But there are no historical inevitabilities. If we abandon our principles, fail to set firm goals, or place excessive faith in the goodwill and permanence of Mikhail Gorbachev, we cannot hope to see freedom prevail.

—*"Gorbomania: The Sequel," Virginia I. Postrel*

April 1990

"We are free, Aliosha. The nightmare is over," says Lidyia's faint voice at the other end of the line. After a few moments of silence, during which I hear sobbing, she adds, "I didn't think I would see it during my lifetime."

—*"Aid From the Heart," Alex Kozinski*

Beneath the rhetoric of survival, behind the Sierra Club calendars, beyond the movie-star appeals, lies a full-fledged ideology—an ideology every bit as powerful as Marxism and every bit as dangerous to individual freedom and human happiness. Like Marxism, it appeals to seemingly noble instincts: the longing for beauty, for harmony, for peace. It is the green road to serfdom.

—*"The Green Road to Serfdom," Virginia I. Postrel*

June 1990

The message is the same for whatever group. *We want a market economy without any adjectives.* Any compromises with that will only fuzzy up the problems we have. To pursue a so-called Third Way is foolish.

—*"No Third Way Out: Creating a Capitalist Czechoslovakia," an interview with Vaclav Klaus*

January 1991

In the future, the Net—the combination of all the computer networks—will be the primary means of information transmission, with print publication merely its adjunct. The Net will replace the press, and users of the Net must enjoy precisely the freedoms enjoyed by the

Jimmy Carter, Library of Congress; American hostage in Iran, ©Bettmann/CORBIS

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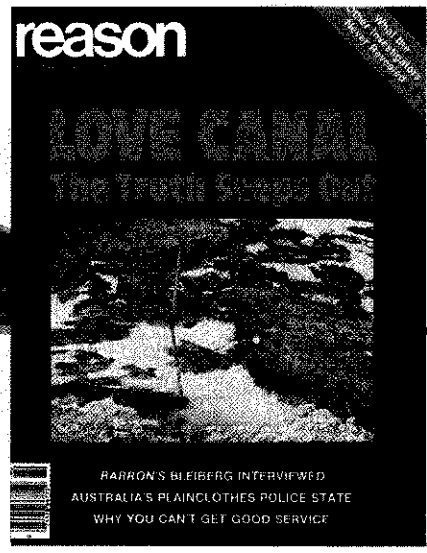

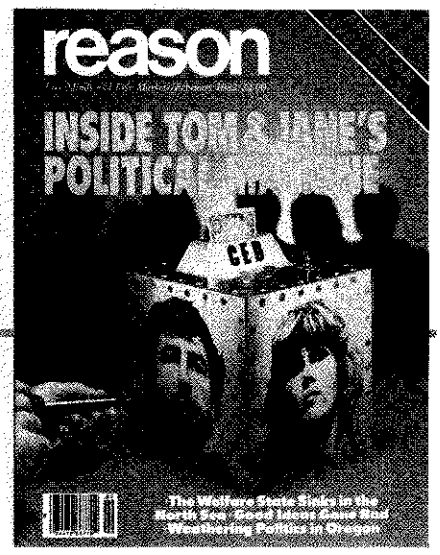

press. If users of the Net have to worry about police surveillance, if censorship is rife, if the state forbids mere discussion of certain topics—then the liberty for which the Founders fought will have been destroyed, not by war or tyranny, but by mere technological change.
—*"Closing the Net," Greg Costikyan*

November 1991

These new Jacobins are powered by a genuine faith that they are working for an undeniable good—creating and sustaining true equality on campus by eradicating speech that makes minorities, women, and gays feel unwanted. Convinced that they are occupying the moral high ground, they see their opponents as using free speech as a cover for their own racism, sexism, or disgraceful indifference.
—*"The New Jacobins," Nat Hentoff*

May 1993

Critics of the BATF operation have cited various tactical errors. But the root of the fiasco was strategic: the premise that controlling certain weapons is the key to preventing bloodshed. In this case, the truth was just the opposite. The Waco tragedy has predictably elicited calls for stricter gun control, especially bans on so-called assault weapons. Instead, it should prompt policy makers to reconsider the mindless hunt for evil guns.
—*"Waco's Wake," Jacob Sullum*

Today, it seems, nearly everyone is speaking the language of free markets and free minds....People, even leftish Democrats, have put away a lot of the old statist rhetoric, taught themselves to speak the language of freedom, and are experimenting with the methods of freedom. It was a Democrat named Jimmy Carter, let us not forget, who was the deregulation president, and quite possibly his cousin from Little Rock will rack up an equally awesome pro-market achievement in one policy arena or another.
—*"Do-Good Libertarianism," Paul H. Weaver*

February 1994

Such raids and ransackings are standard procedure in most large cities and, except in the most outrageous cases, they receive the approval of courts. Police can get search warrants on the flimsiest of suspicion—even the word of an anonymous informant. In many cases, though, the police don't even bother to get a warrant, since they are virtually unfettered by the risk of successful suits or other sanctions, especially if they confine their warrantless invasions to poor members of minority groups.
—*"Casualties of War: Drug prohibition has shot gaping holes in the Bill of Rights," Steven B. Duke and Albert C. Gross*

November 1994

Today's unfolding immigration debate amounts to an attempt to snatch economic defeat from the jaws of

Ronald Reagan, Library of Congress

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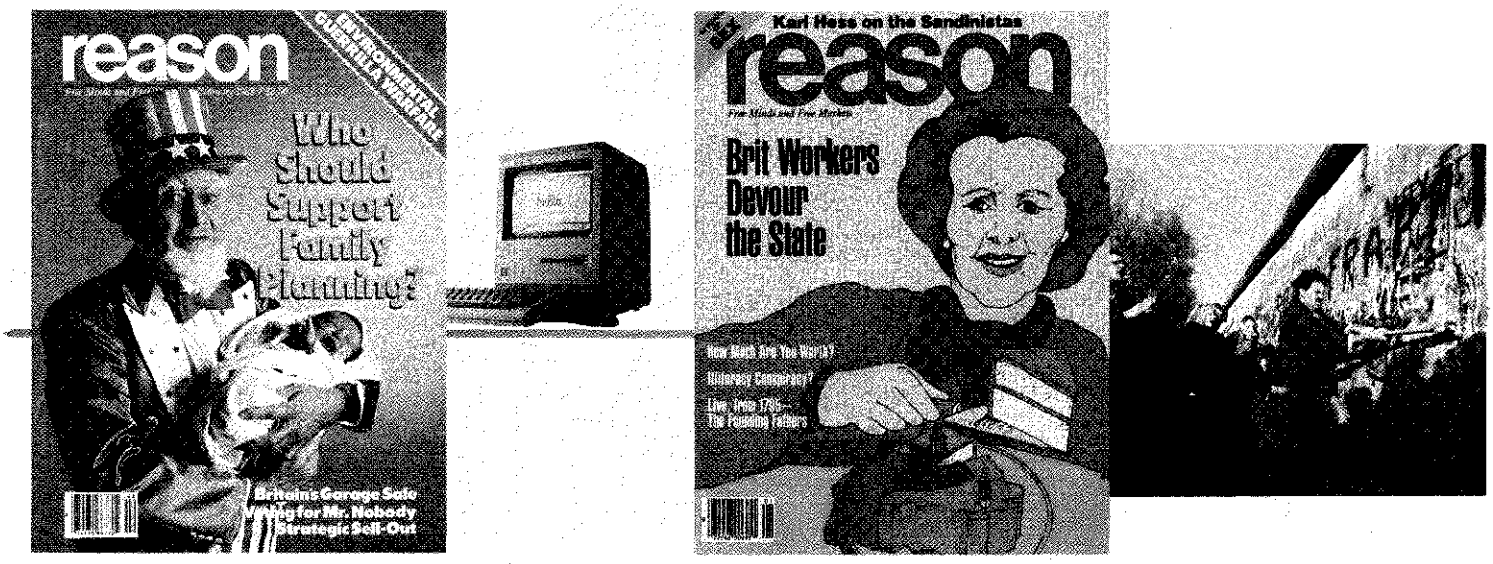

victory. California's Prop. 187 is an early round in that debate, and it represents a referendum on the concept of immigration. If it wins, America loses.
—*"Sinking Our State," Ron K. Unz*

December 1994

[Visiting D.C. is] like going to Mars. When you come back out no one is talking about any of the things the people in Washington are talking about....It gives me a real advantage as a humorist because I get credit for having insight and understanding—and I don't. I don't have any insight or understanding on anything about the government. All I think is that it's stupid—which is the one perspective that's almost completely lacking in Washington.
—*"'All I Think Is That It's Stupid': Dave Barry on laughing at Very Big Government."*

June 1995

As I look around me I'm impressed by the fact that there's increasing attention paid to libertarian ideas. If you look at the picture now, compared with 30 years ago, there's no comparison.
—*"Best of Both Worlds: An interview with Milton Friedman"*

January 1996

In the past, public health officials could argue that they were protecting people from external threats: carriers of contagious diseases, fumes from the local glue factory, contaminated water, food poisoning, dangerous quack remedies. By contrast, the new enemies of public health come from within; the aim is to protect people from themselves rather than each other....Of all the risk factors for disease and injury, freedom may be the most important.
—*"What the Doctor Orders," Jacob Sullum*

August/September 1996

Killing a program is not the same as killing a lobby. After a decent interval and a switch on Capitol Hill from old-style Democrats to new-fangled Republicans, the wool people stuck their head up again, and last April their persistence paid off. Thanks to Sen. Larry Craig—a Republican from Idaho and supposedly a conservative—Newt Gingrich's Congress tossed the wool lobby a new National Sheep Industry Improvement Center, empowered with up to $50 million in federal funds to "enhance production and marketing of sheep or goat products in the United States."
—*"Eternal Life," Jonathan Rauch*

February 1998

Racial preferences are dead. All that is required now is to give them a decent and honorable burial.
—*"'Racial Preferences Are Dead,'" an interview with Ward Connerly*

April 1999

During the past few decades, we have been exper-

Fall of Berlin Wall, AP/Wide World Photos

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iencing what can aptly be called a "culture boom": a massive and prolonged increase in art, music, literature, video, and other forms of creative expression. ...In an increasingly wealthy and educated society where the overwhelming majority of people have concerns about food, clothing, and shelter pretty well covered, culture takes on more and more meaning as the medium through which we articulate our identities, dreams, fears, aspirations, and values. Little wonder, then, that stories about the "culture wars" have been burning up the pages of newspapers, magazines, and intellectual journals for the past few years: There's so much more to fight about these days.

—*"All Culture, All the Time," Nick Gillespie*

November 1999

The most potent challenge to markets today, and to liberal ideals more generally, is not about fairness. It is about *stability* and *control*—not as choice in our lives as individuals, but as a policy for society as a whole. It is the argument that markets are disruptive and chaotic, that they make the future unpredictable, and that they serve too many diverse values rather than "one best way." The most important challenge to markets today is not the ideology of socialism but the ideology of *stasis*, the notion that the good society is one of stability, predictability, and control.

—*"After Socialism," Virginia Postrel*

December 1999

The biomedical revolution of the next century promises to alter our culture, our politics, and our lives. It promises to extend our life span and to enhance our mental and physical capacities. The closer those promises come to reality, however, the more they incite opposition and, in some cases, horror. And they are becoming more real by the day.

—*"Petri Dish Politics," Ronald Bailey*

March 2000

Rather than promoting enterprise and speech, copyrights and trademarks often restrain them, turning intellectual property law into..."protectionism for the culture industry."

—*"Copy Catfight," Jesse Walker*

April 2000

The lesson of the Clinton [scandals] is that Nixon should have bombed somebody [during Watergate]....It would have bought him some time. Military actions have such a powerful dynamic of their own that they can overwhelm their political context.

—*"Secrets of the Clinton Spectacle," Charles Paul Freund*

October 2000

When you look into the eyes of the appropriators, I don't see a lot of difference between the Democrats and the Republicans. When it comes to pork barrel

George H. W. Bush, Library of Congress; Waco Davidians, AP/Wide World Photos

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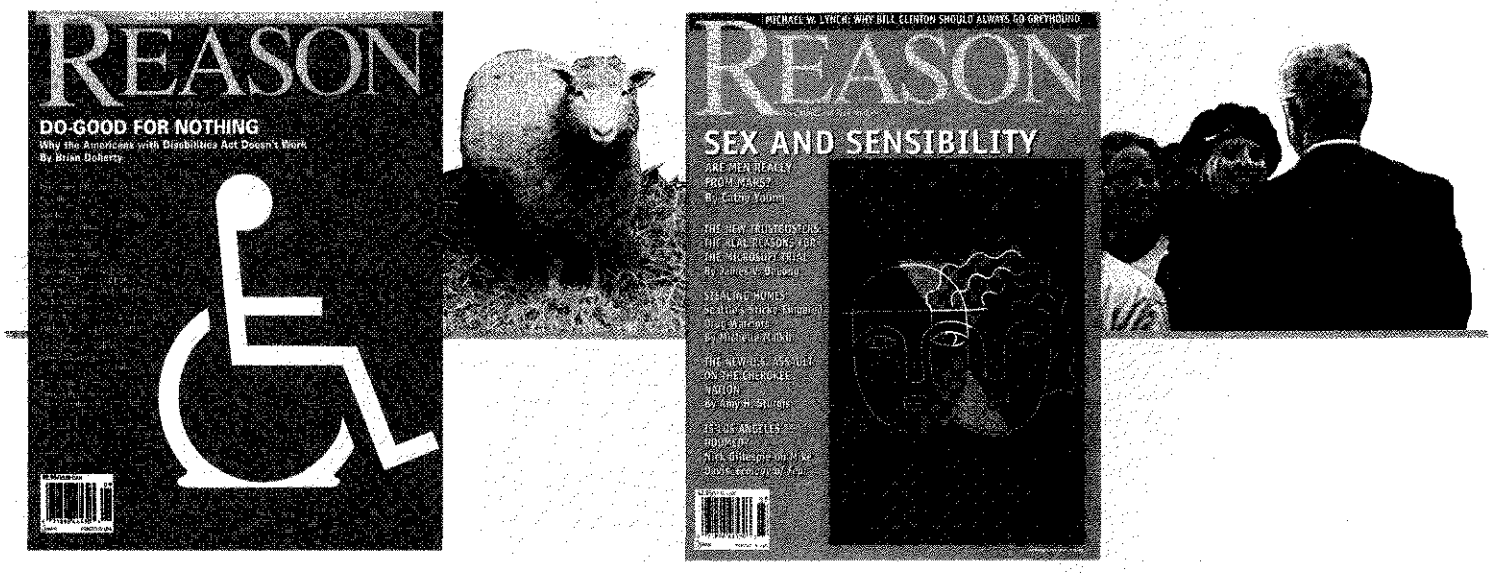

spending, I don't see a big difference here on Capitol Hill.

—*"Another Kind of Salmon," interview with former Rep. Matt Salmon (R-Ariz.)*

Ostensibly pro-market conservatives are among the last ones to sell capitalism for what it is: a realm of groovy freedom filled with a dizzying and ever-expanding panoply of strange and wonderful and disturbing lifestyles and identities in which even the lousiest jobs can buy enormous amounts of leisure and the coolest movies, music, video games, and whatever else you want.

Both the right and the left are fully invested in a Puritan-work-ethic version of capitalism, no matter how at odds with reality such an approach is.

—*"Rage On," Brian Doherty*

December 2000

We participate less in politics for the same reason we stopped going to drive-in movies the way we used to, getting married as teenagers, making dinner at home, and, for men at least, wearing blue suits with white shirts and red ties: not because we *can't,* but because we don't want to. Our flesh is not weak when it comes to voting; it's just not willing.

The center of gravity in American life has shifted away from partisan politics and into other areas of activity in which individuals (and groups of individuals) have far greater hopes for gaining satisfaction. The big story in American life over the past few decades is not the decline in voter participation but the ever-increasing proliferation of options, of choices, and of identities in everyday life.

—*"The AWOL Electorate," Nick Gillespie*

January 2001

As one tracks the war against green biotech, it becomes ever clearer that its leaders are not primarily concerned about safety. What they really hate is capitalism and globalization.

—*"Dr. Strangelunch," Ronald Bailey*

May 2001

[Third World governments] are cracking down on theft of water and electricity, and trying to enforce patents and copyrights. They have arrested, jailed, and executed gangsters and drug traffickers. They have tightened security measures to control the influence of extreme political sects among the uprooted multitudes.

What they have not done is craft a formal legal system that recognizes those multitudes' property rights and lets them create capital. In other words, they have not learned the lessons of U.S. history. Until they do, they'll remain citadels of dead capital.

—*"Citadels of Dead Capital," Hernando de Soto*

July 2001

The idea of a world united around a culture of liberty

Dolly, the cloned sheep, AP/Wide World Photos; Monica Lewinsky and Bill Clinton, AP/Wide World Photos

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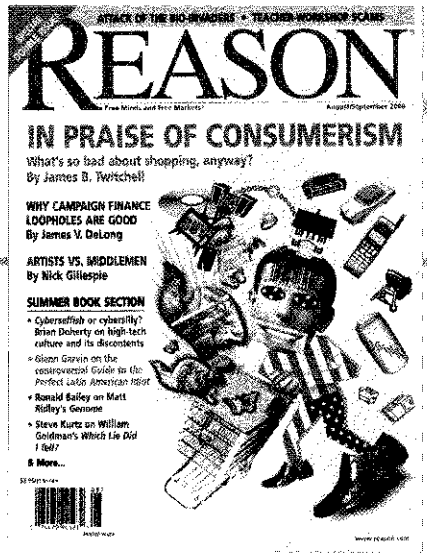
REASON
IN PRAISE OF CONSUMERISM
What's so bad about shopping, anyway?
By James B. Twitchell
WHY CAMPAIGN FINANCE LOOPHOLES ARE GOOD
By James V. DeLong
ARTISTS VS. MIDDLEMEN
By Nick Gillespie
SUMMER BOOK SECTION
• Cyberselfish or cybersilly? Brian Doherty on high-tech culture and its discontents
• Glenn Garvin on the controversial Guide to the Perfect Latin American Idiot
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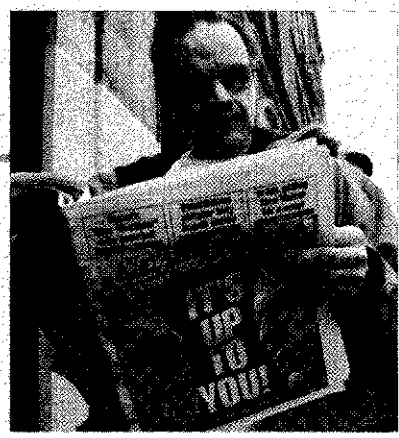
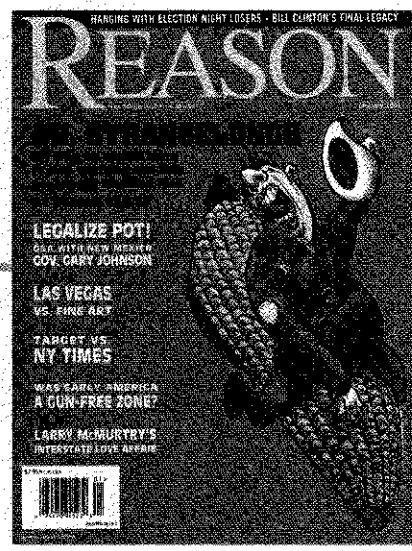
• Steve Kurtz on William Goldman's Which Lie Did I Tell?
& More...





is not a utopia but a beautiful and achievable reality that justifies our efforts. As Karl Popper, one of our greatest teachers, said, "Optimism is a duty. The future is open. It is not predetermined. No one can predict it, except by chance. We all contribute to determining it by what we do. We are all equally responsible for its success."

—*"Global Village or Global Pillage?," Mario Vargas Llosa*

December 2001

In his September 20 address, Bush posed the rhetorical question, Why do the terrorists hate us? His answer, to be sure, was simplistic, but also carried a fair measure of truth: "They hate our freedoms: our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other." In short, they hate our freedom to chart our own individual courses in life. One only hopes that insight doesn't become a casualty in the War on Terrorism.

—*"The New Cold War," Nick Gillespie*

March 2002

The first breath of cultural freedom that Afghans had enjoyed since 1995 was suffused with the stuff of commercially generated popular culture. The people seemed delighted to be able to look like they wanted to, listen to what they wanted to, watch what they wanted to, and generally enjoy themselves again. Who could complain about Afghans' filling their lives with pleasure after being coerced for years to adhere to a harshly enforced ascetic code?

The West's liberal, anti-materialist critics, that's who.

—*"In Praise of Vulgarity," Charles Paul Freund*

June 2002

The real danger we face today is not that new biological technologies will occasionally cause injury but that opponents will use vague, abstract threats to... delay the medical advances growing out of today's basic research. If, out of concern over cloning, the U.S. Congress succeeds in criminalizing embryonic stem cell research that might bring treatments for Alzheimer's disease or diabetes...there would be real victims: present and future sufferers from those diseases.

—*"The Clone Wars: A Reason Online Debate," Gregory Stock*

August/September 2002

Compared to previous generations, today's Americans are starting work later in life, spending less time on chores at home, and living longer after retirement. All told, 70 percent of a typical American's waking lifetime hours are available for leisure, up from 55 percent in 1950.

—*"Off the Books," W. Michael Cox and Richard Alm*

October 2002

The open-ended nature of the struggle against it means

Lining up to vote, Robin Weiner/WirePix

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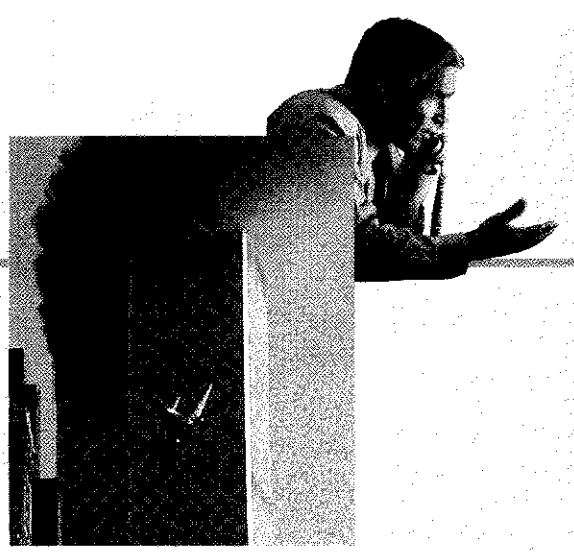

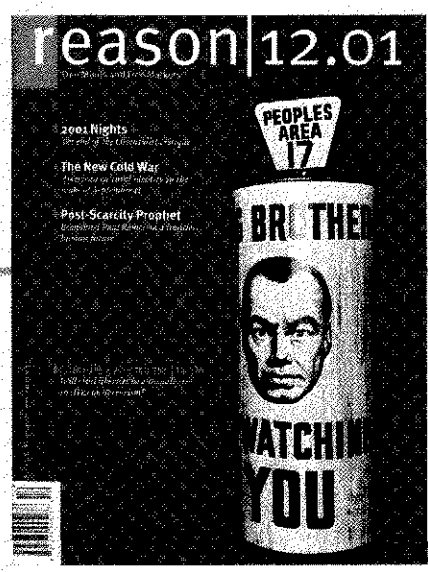

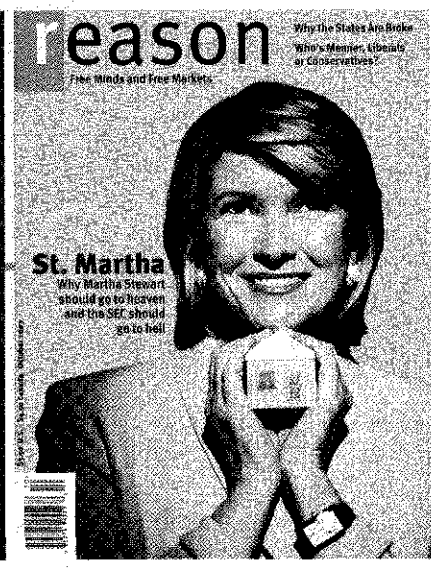
reason
Free Minds and Free Markets
Why the States Are Broke
Who's Meaner, Liberals or Conservatives?
St. Martha
Why Martha Stewart should go to heaven and the SEC should go to hell

Terrorist attack, AP/Wide World Photos; President George W. Bush, 9/11/01, Eric Draper/White House/WirePix

that the war on terrorism, unlike conventional wars, cannot be viewed as a passing emergency.

That fact has important implications for the debate about how much liberty we should give up so the government can fight terrorism more effectively. Since there's no way of knowing when the war is over—no territory to occupy, no surrender to accept—any sacrifices we make are likely to be permanent.

—*"The Forever War," Jacob Sullum*

December 2002

Wealthier is healthier for both people and the environment. As societies become richer and more technologically adept, their air and water become cleaner, they set aside more land for nature, their forests expand, they use less land for agriculture, and more people cherish wild species. All indications suggest that the 21st century will be the century of ecological restoration, as humanity uses physical resources ever more efficiently, disturbing the natural world less and less.

—*"Wilting Greens," Ronald Bailey*

If you regard the United States as 280 million not-very-savvy people who receive their information primarily from the 11 p.m. Action News broadcast, *Crossfire*, or talk radio, then you might be depressed.

But the glass is not merely half empty. In 1980 there was essentially no desktop publishing. By 2000, a single newsletter-publishing company...was pulling down $100 million in annual revenue. In July 1992 the World Wide Web was in its demo stage. By July 2002, a single Web publishing company...could report that new sites were being created using..."Blogger" technology at a rate of 1.5 per *minute*....Some cautious optimists might suggest, gently, that the public is better served now that it need not get its news exclusively from Walter Cronkite and the locally dominant daily.

—*"Woe is Media," Matt Welch*

July 2003

The deepest utopian appeal of *The Lord of the Rings*, *Star Wars*, and *Harry Potter* is not to an adolescent yearning for a world inhabited by wizards, hobbits, and Jedi knights, but to a modern consciousness torn by mutually contradictory desires....We wish at once to be free and to be a god to others. We would return to an idyllic past and progress forward to an unbounded future. The truly magical power of these films and stories is that they allow us...to believe that as modern individuals we can be both at home in the world and at one with ourselves.

—*"Back to the Future," Michael Valdez Moses*

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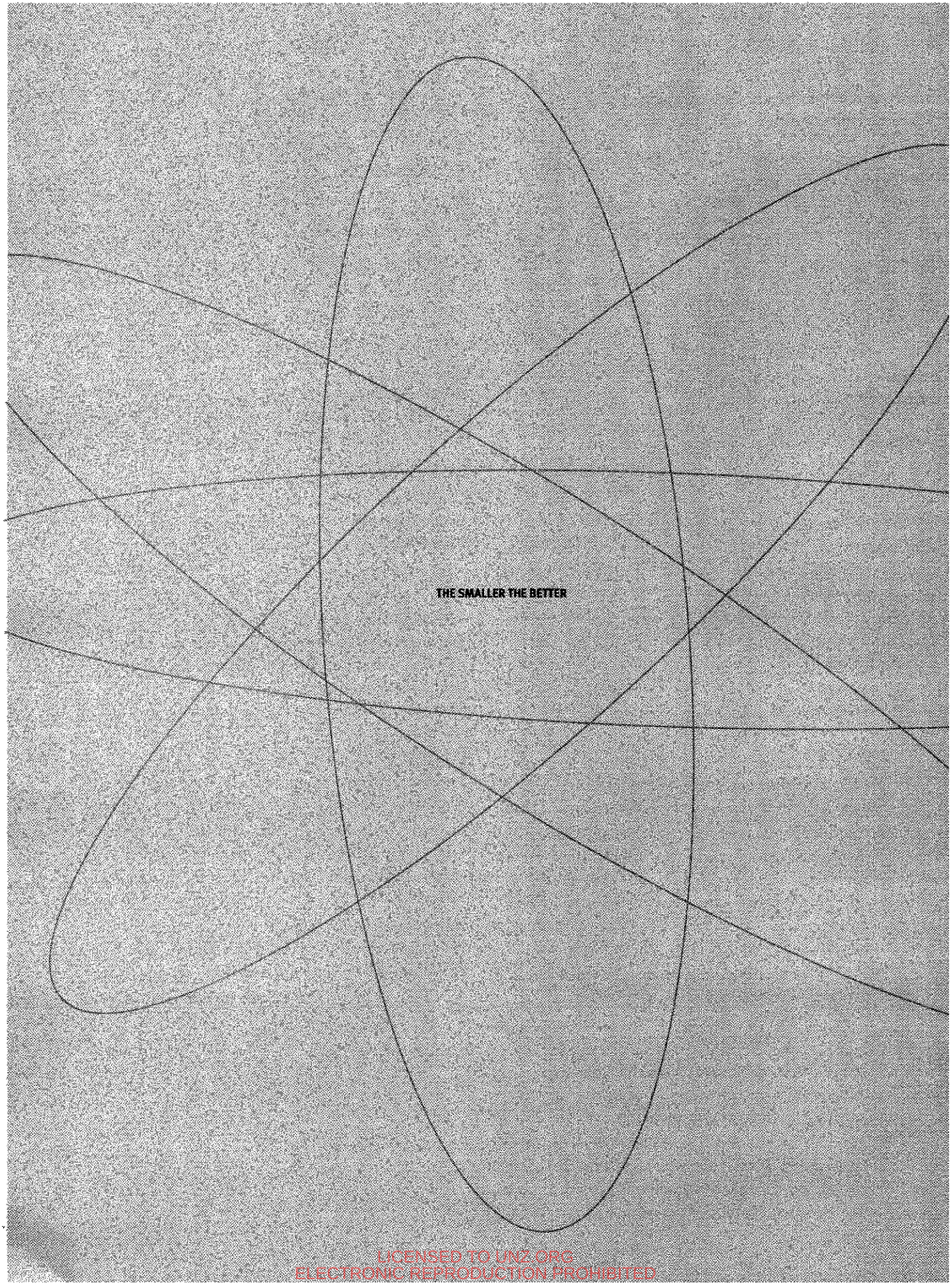

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The limitless promise of nanotechnology—and the growing peril of a moratorium

Ronald Bailey

"THE BEST WAY I can describe it is if you close your eyes and dream. You could never be hungry, never be sick, have all the energy you need, all the water, all the food and no diseases. There is no aspect in the world economy or your personal life that is not assumed to be transformed by this new technology."

The amazing development that is supposed to usher in this utopia is nanotechnology, the manipulation of matter at the molecular and atomic level. But the man who made these wild-eyed, pie-in-the-sky claims was not nanotech prophet Eric Drexler, author of *The Engines of Creation*, the 1986 book that popularized the concept, and founder of the Foresight Institute, dedicated to working out its implications. Nor was it Neal Stephenson, the visionary science fiction writer who imagined a future transformed by nanotechnology in his 1995 novel *The Diamond Age*. And it wasn't Richard Smalley, winner of the 1996 Nobel Prize in chemistry, director of the Rice University Center for Nanoscale Science and Technology, and co-discoverer of the novel carbon molecules called nanotubes and fullerenes, whose strength and electronic properties are at the heart of future nanotech applications.

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No, the speaker expounding on the wonders of nanotechnology was Roy Pat Mooney, a longtime anti-globalization activist who directs the Action Group on Erosion, Technology, and Concentration (ETC Group). His nanotech vision was part of a talk he gave at a November 2002 conference in the Philippines. The funny thing is that Mooney and his allies want to impose an immediate, comprehensive global moratorium on the development of nanotechnology. That's right: Mooney wants, at a minimum, to delay the arrival of technologies he himself believes could banish hunger, disease, and material want forever.

The ETC Group, which issued its call for a moratorium in a January 2003 report, wants to stop nanotech until "civil society" has a chance to catch up. "In the future," its report declares, "molecular manufacturing poses enormous environmental and social risks and must not proceed—even in the laboratory—in the absence of broad societal understanding and assessment." The ETC Group "proposes that governments declare an immediate moratorium on commercial production of new nanomaterials and launch a transparent global process for evaluating the socioeconomic, health and environmental implications of technology." Since "emerging technologies require scientific, socioeconomic, and societal evaluation in order for governments to make informed decisions about their risks/benefits and ultimate value," the group advocates an International Convention for the Evaluation of New Technologies. ETC is not alone in demanding a nanotech moratorium. In an editorial in the September 2003 issue of *smalltimes* magazine, Greenpeace UK's chief scientist Douglas Parr writes: "Greenpeace has not called for a ban on nanoparticles, but a moratorium until the hazards are characterized and understood."

Mooney and his fellow activists cannot be lightly dismissed. They have been leaders in the largely successful global campaign against plant biotechnology. And Mooney already has the support of major organizations such as the Rockefeller Foundation and Ford Foundation. The prestigious Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation helped organize and pay for a conference on nanotech last year at its headquarters in Uppsala, Sweden. The ETC Group and like-minded activists are backed by a coalition of foundations known as the Funders Working Group on the New Technologies, based in San Francisco. "They have more money to organize against nanotech than we have to promote it," complains Mark Modzelewski, executive director of the NanoBusiness Alliance, an industry group.

The advocates of a nanotech moratorium are apt to find a sympathetic audience among the "nanoethicists" who are emerging as a result of the National Nanotechnology Initiative. The NNI, launched in 2000, has grown to be a $774 million federal program, of which about $28 million has been allocated to study the social implications of nanotechnology. Writing in the February 2003 issue of the journal *Nanotechnology*, bioethicists from the Joint Center for Bioethics at the University of Toronto note that as nanotech expenditures have increased, so have calls for regulation. "These two trends seem to be on a collision course towards a showdown of the type that we saw with GM [genetically modified] crops," they write. "As the science of NT [nanotechnology] leaps ahead, the ethics lags behind....The ethical issues fall into the areas of equity, privacy, security, environment and metaphysical questions concerning human-machine interactions."

The article concludes: "The call by ETC for a moratorium on deployment of nanomaterials should be a wake up call for NT. The only way to avoid such a moratorium is to immediately close the gap between the science and ethics of NT. The lessons of genomics and biotechnology make this feasible. Either the ethics of NT will catch up, or the science will slow down."

Nanotechnology excites both extravagant hopes and deep fears, sometimes in the same people. While there are grounds for caution, the tremendous promise of nanotechnology will never be realized if we allow fear to rule us and give in to those who insist upon zero risk as a condition of progress. The manageable hazards associated with nanotechnology are small compared to the danger posed by the burgeoning movement to stop its development until all objections have been satisfied.

Nanotech Wow!

In congressional testimony on May 12, 1999, the Nobel Prize–winning chemist Richard Smalley argued that "the impact of nanotechnology on health, wealth, and the standard of living for people will be at least the equivalent of the combined influences of microelectronics, medical imaging, computer-aided engineering, and man-made polymers in this century." And nanotechnology is coming on fast. "For the first time in

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history, a technical revolution will approach the abruptness of a political event," writes technology analyst William Atkinson in his 2003 book *Nanocosm: Nanotechnology and the Big Changes Coming From the Inconceivably Small*. "No one in any age has heard, seen, or felt anything like it. But you will." He adds, "A.D. 2003 will seem antediluvian not in fifty years but in fifteen."

At a recent nanotechnology conference in Washington, D.C., Commerce Undersecretary Philip Bond predicted: "Nanotech will produce materials 100 times stronger than steel with a fraction of the weight. The Library of Congress can be stored in a memory module the size of a sugar cube. Nanotechnology will enable clean, pollution-free manufacturing; do something about global warming; provide a sensurround education; [make] information technology...a utility accessible everywhere; [produce] more-efficient renewable energy; and [offer] bioengineered tissues to replace damaged ones. These predictions are not just pie in the sky....Almost every frustration we deal with in this Vale of Tears will be touched by this technology."

As these predictions suggest, nanotech is not one thing; it is more a conceptual breakthrough than a specific technology. Nanotechnology arises from the insight that it is possible to manufacture objects by placing individual atoms and molecules in precise locations.

A nanometer is one-billionth of a meter. Ten hydrogen atoms lined up would fit within a nanometer. Our DNA molecules are 2.5 nanometers wide. A typical bacterium, say *E. coli*, is a thousand times bigger, measuring between 1,000 and 2,000 nanometers, while a virus like the ones that cause the common cold measures around 20 nanometers. The width of the dot above this letter *i* is approximately 1 million nanometers. From the point of view of the nanocosm, the tiny etchings on our densest microchips are vast highways.

Nanotechnology cuts across every business and industry, from information processing, telecommunications, and computers to industrial materials and pharmaceuticals. Every industry can benefit from smaller, more efficient products. At an April conference sponsored by the National Nanotechnology Initiative, Mihail Roco, the nanotech guru at the National Science Foundation, noted, "Developments in nanotechnology are going much faster than expected; in fact, development time is less than half that we expected." Roco also flatly declared, "If a company does not enter nanotechnology now—in five years it will be too late—it will be out of business."

The NanoBusiness Alliance's Modzelewski estimates there are already 1,200 nanotechnology startups in the United States alone, and he predicts that number will double in the next 18 months. Roco, who chairs the National Science and Technology Council's Subcommittee on Nanoscale Science, Engineering, and Technology, points out that 75 percent of the 7,000 or so nanotechnology patents are held by Americans. The budget for the National Nanotechnology Initiative has grown from $270 million in 2000 to $774 million in 2003 and is expected to rise to $850 million next year. According to Roco, private nanotech R&D funding is at least three times the government's spending.

The National Science Foundation projects that global markets for nanotech products will exceed $1 trillion annually sometime between 2010 and 2015. This will include markets for novel nanoscale materials ($340 billion), new nanotech-enabled pharmaceuticals ($180 billion), and new electronics ($300 billion).

Getting Small

Nanotechnology is not just a gleam in some inventor's eye; nanotech products already exist. Right now most commercial nanotech applications involve nanocoatings

Nanotech is not one thing; it is more a conceptual breakthrough than a specific technology. Nanotechnology arises from the insight that it is possible to manufacture objects by placing individual atoms and molecules in precise locations.

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and catalysts. Window manufacturers Pilkington and PPG Industries, for example, offer self-cleaning windows coated with nanoparticles that catalyze dirt and cause rainwater to sheet down and wash away the grime rather than bead up. The same technique is being developed for self-sanitizing tiles in restaurants and hospitals.

Lee Jeans and Eddie Bauer offer spill-resistant pants using "nanowhisker" fabric technology developed by NanoTex. NanoTex fabrics feature billions of 10-nanometer-long nanowhiskers that repel moisture and stains. Popular sunscreens use nanoparticles of zinc oxide to block damaging ultraviolet rays. Pharmaceutical companies are devising nanosized systems that deliver precise doses of drugs to specific tissues. Such systems will greatly reduce side effects while boosting therapeutic benefits.

Nanotech also will have a profound effect on electronics. Kodak and DuPont are producing organic light emitting diodes (OLEDs), made of carbon-based polymers rather than semiconductors. Display screens made of OLEDs, unlike LCDs, emit their own light; they're brighter, thinner, lighter, faster, and more energy efficient than LCDs, and they can be viewed from any angle without losing their brightness or contrast. Kodak offers an OLED screen in one of its high-end digital cameras. Such displays are ideal for computers, PDAs, and cell phones, or whatever combination of these comes to dominate the market for personal electronics. DisplaySearch, a market research firm that focuses on flat panel displays, projects that the market for OLED displays will rise from $85 million in 2002 to more than $3 billion in 2007. Similar technology is being used to create highly energy-efficient lighting that could cut U.S. energy consumption by 10 percent and save $100 billion annually.

Within a decade, analysts foresee various nanotechnologies enabling things like complete medical diagnostic laboratories on one-inch computer chips; ubiquitous computers, some built into clothing; powerful, long-lasting batteries; efficient solar cells; new drugs and drug delivery systems; cheap visual displays; medical monitoring systems embedded in people's bodies ready to sound an alert when a disease organism strikes or a cancer cell develops; and cheaper space travel. And such products will be created using less energy and producing less waste than conventional manufacturing.

Further in the future, visionaries like Eric Drexler foresee the advent of molecular manufacturing based on self-replicating nanoassemblers capable of making any item you might desire. The main ingredients would be dirt and air. Shovel in some dirt, and out would pop a computer, a car, a pair of khakis, or a cabbage, depending on the recipe you specified.

Nanomedical applications would include nanobots smaller than seven-nanometer-wide red blood cells that would cruise people's bodies on search and destroy missions, looking for pathogens and cancer cells. The National Science Foundation's Roco predicts that nanotechnological developments could someday extend human life spans by 20 to 30 years. Nanobiomedical visionary Robert Freitas has proposed a scheme for replacing the entire circulatory system with sapphire "vasculoids" that use nanomachines to ferry oxygen, nutrients, and anti-pathogenic elements around the body. He expects such a system to be available in less than 50 years. Nanotechnology would so boost computing capacities that it might be possible to upload your personality into an almost indestructible inorganic substrate, thereby achieving a kind of immortality.

"We will make progress equivalent to that of the whole 20th century in the next 15 years," declared information technology entrepreneur Ray Kurzweil, author of *The Age of Spiritual Machines*, at a 2002 Foresight Institute conference. "Progress in the 21st century will be equiva-

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lent to 20,000 years of progress at today's rate."

Of course, humanity will achieve that sort of progress only if we're allowed to.

Nanotech Yuck!

If the dazzling visions of nanotechnology's benefits are the "wow" phase, the gathering backlash against nanotechnology might be described as the beginning of a "yuck" phase.

That reaction is based on an exaggeration of the risks posed by nanotechnology, coupled with a fundamental misunderstanding of how innovation leads to progress.

The ETC Group sees three nanotechnological risks that require regulation. First, it believes nanomaterials could threaten human health and the natural environment. Second, it worries about the danger of uncontrollable self-replication by nanotech automatons. Finally, it fears the consequences of dramatic socioeconomic change.

The ETC Group commissioned a review of the scientific literature on the toxicology of "ultrafine" particles from British toxicologist Vyvyan Howard. (One can be forgiven for suspecting that it selected Howard because he is a vigorous campaigner against crop biotechnology.) After surveying 27 scientific studies that looked at the health effects of ultrafine particles, many of which focused on particulate air pollution, Howard concluded that various relatively harmless substances may become toxic when transformed into nanoparticles because of "the increased reactivity associated with very small size." After all, one of the qualities that researchers prize in nanoparticles is their increased reactivity. Based on this conclusion, the ETC Group wants to shut down all research on nanomaterials, at least until laboratories design "best practices" for handling them. It also wants a five-year moratorium on the commercialization of any nanomaterial products.

The effects of loose nanoparticles do need to be (and are being) studied. But contrary to the ETC Group's implication, heedless scientists and greedy corporations are not about to flood our bodies and the world with dangerously toxic nanoparticles. It's important to recognize that people already breathe in lots of nanoparticles. Humanity began manufacturing them as soon as we tamed fire. And as Ken Lyon, director of business development at Altair Nanomaterials, notes, "Nature made nanomaterials a long time before mankind started making them on purpose. There are lots of natural sources of nanomaterials—salt particles from ocean storms, for example. They are all around us. Enzymes and viruses are all in the nanosphere."

Gunter Oberdorster, a professor of environmental medicine at Cornell University, has noted that "ultrafine particles [smaller than 20 nanometers] have the highest number concentration but the lowest mass concentration, a major anthropogenic ETC source being emissions of internal combustion engines," especially diesel engines. Matter Engineering, a Swiss firm specializing in the measurement of ambient nanoparticles, notes that each cubic centimeter of urban air already contains about 10,000 nanoparticles. Natural sources of nanoparticles include volcanic activity, forest fires, and sea spray. Of course, breathing particulates is not good for your lungs; studies show that air pollution increases the risk of lung and cardiovascular diseases. But there's little reason to believe that manufactured nanoparticles raise special concerns in this connection.

Keep in mind that most manufactured nanoparticles are not going to be running around loose. Altair's Ken Lyon notes, "Nanomaterials are usually incorporated into something else—ceramic coatings, glass, plastics. By the time it's in a coating, it no longer exists as a nanomaterial." Altair makes titanium dioxide nanoparticles that are incorporated into products such as self-cleaning glass and UV-blocking sunscreens. Titanium dioxide is considered to be so nontoxic that it is approved for use in food, generally up to 1 percent of the product's final weight. A 1998 Environmental Protection Agency risk assessment concluded, "Based on its low toxicity, there is reasonable certainty that no harm will result from aggregate exposure to the U.S. population, including infants and children, to residues of titanium dioxide." Lyon notes, "We know what happens to people who ingest titanium dioxide: Their poop turns white."

Pat Collins of Hyperion Catalysis International, which makes multiwall carbon nanotubes for use in products such as automobile plastic composites, points out: "We compound our carbon nanotubes into plastics. You can sand, grind, slice, and dice, and the nanotubes won't get liberated. We've looked for free nanotubes and have never found them. The plastic particles in which the nanotubes are incorporated are much bigger than the nanotubes themselves."

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Asked about the ETC Group's proposed moratorium, Collins says: "I don't want to get into a public pissing match, but I don't think it's a valid concern. What they're talking about is all very hypothetical risks. There's no risk using nanotubes in plastics." Lyon also rejects the call for a moratorium but agrees that "the industry has an obligation to be cautious as we develop new products." He says "adequate steps are being taken to make sure that people exposed to the stuff are safe."

We don't have to just take the nanotech industry's word for it. The National Science Foundation established a Center for Biological and Environmental Nanotechnology (CBEN) at Rice University; its mission is to evaluate the health and environmental effects of new nanomaterials. Kevin Ausman, CBEN's executive director, says the ETC Group's concerns are "based largely on speculation and hypotheses." About the proposed moratorium, Ausman says: "I don't think a ban is reasonable. It's such a broad class of materials; if we have to wait until everything is proved absolutely safe, we're never going to develop nanomaterials. What you need is a parallel development of the application of nanomaterials and impact assessment at the same time." In other words, proceed with caution.

Paul Burrows, manager of the Nanoscience Initiative at the federal government's Pacific Northwest National Laboratory, says of nanomaterials: "I wouldn't eat them. We should treat nanoparticles like we would any other chemical." Burrows notes that our current technologies contain a lot of materials that would be hazardous if they didn't stay put. "Your cell phones contain chips with gallium arsenide in them," he says. "Arsenic isn't good for you."

Ausman notes that most particulate inhalation problems, such as black lung or silicosis, "result from exposures over a long time and at high levels; occasional exposures for short periods would not be dangerous." He expects the same would be true for nanomaterials such as carbon nanotubes. Ausman also thinks the laboratory "best practices" regime envisioned by the ETC Group is unnecessary. "The standard precautions in labs and manufacturing are sufficient to protect people in labs and factories," he says. "They are part of a research community used to handling hazardous materials."

The ETC Group is fond of quoting CBEN Director Vicki Colvin's estimate that only $500,000 has been spent so far on evaluating the health and environmental risks of nanotechnology. An irritated Mihail Roco dismisses Colvin's claim as the grandstanding of "a younger researcher who is trying to raise money for her center." Colvin's center is spending $500,000 on environmental research, Roco says, but the National Nanotechnology Initiative is spending about $50 million researching the environmental and social issues raised by nanotechnology. In any case, he says, "It would be unwise to spend 50 percent of nanotech research money thinking about the societal and environmental issues of products that will not ultimately be developed." Or as Ausman puts it, "I am not worried that in the near term nanomaterials are going to cause any serious problems," and "there's a lot of lead time before there's a lot of stuff out there."

Gray Goo

The second nanotechnology risk that worries ETC Group activists is runaway self-replication. Mooney points to a scenario suggested by Eric Drexler himself in *The Engines of Creation*: Self-replicating nanobots get out of control and spread exponentially across the landscape, destroying everything in their path by converting it into copies of themselves. In this scenario, the biosphere is transformed by rampaging nanobots into "gray goo."

But according to Nobelist Richard Smalley, "Self-replicating nanorobots like those envisioned by Eric Drexler are simply impossible to make." Mihail Roco likewise dismisses such nanobots as "sci fi," insisting there is "common agreement among scientists that they cannot exist."

Drexler replies, reasonably enough, that we know nanoassembly is possible because that's what living things do. Cells, using little machines such as ribosomes, mitochondria, and enzymes, precisely position molecules, store and access assembly instructions, and produce energy. Some have quipped that biology is nanotechnology that works.

As that analogy suggests, there is a close affinity between nanotechnology and biotechnology. "The separation between nanotechnology and biotechnology is almost nonexistent," said Minoo Dastoor, a senior adviser in the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Office of Aerospace Technology, at the National Nanotechnology Initiative's conference in April. For future

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missions, NASA needs machines that are resilient, evolvable, self-sufficient, ultra-efficient, and autonomous. "Biology seems to be able to do all these things very elegantly and efficiently," noted Dastoor. "The wet world of biology and the dry world of nanotechnology will have to live side by side and merge."

The fact is that no one has yet definitively shown that Drexler's vision of molecular manufacturing using nanoassemblers is impossible. So let's suppose Smalley and Roco are wrong, and such nanobots are possible. How dangerous would self-replicating nanobots be? One of the ironies of the debate over regulation of nanotechnology is that it was nanotech boosters like Drexler who first worried about such risks. To address potential dangers such as the uncontrolled self-replication envisioned in his gray goo scenario, Drexler and others founded the Foresight Institute in 1989. Over the years, Foresight devised a set of guidelines aimed at preventing mishaps like a gray goo breakout.

Among other things, the Foresight guidelines propose that nanotech replicators "must not be capable of replication in a natural, uncontrolled environment." This could be accomplished, the guidelines suggest, by designing devices so that they have an "absolute dependence on a single artificial fuel source or artificial 'vitamins' that don't exist in any natural environment." So if some replicators should get away, they would simply run down when they ran out of fuel. Another proposal is that self-replicating nanotech devices be "dependent on broadcast transmissions for replication or in some cases operation." That would put human operators in complete control of the circumstances under which nanotech devices could replicate. One other sensible proposal is that devices be programmed with termination dates. Like senescent cells in the human body, such devices would stop working and self-destruct when their time was up.

"The moratorium is not a new proposal," says Foresight Institute President Christine Peterson. "Eric Drexler considered that idea a long time ago in *The Engines of Creation* and dismissed it as not a safe option. With a moratorium, we, the good guys, are going to be sitting on our hands. It's very risky to let the bad guys be the ones developing the technology. To do arms control on nanotechnology, you'd better have better nanotechnology than the bad guys."

Software entrepreneur Ray Kurzweil is confident that nanotech defenses against uncontrolled replication will be stronger than the abilities to replicate. Citing our current ability to reduce computer viruses to nuisances, Kurzweil argues that we will be even more vigilant against a technology that could kill if uncontrolled.

Smalley suggests we can learn how to control nanotech by looking at biology. The natural world is filled with self-replicating systems. In a sense, living things are "green goo." We already successfully defend ourselves against all kinds of self-replicating organisms that try to kill us, such as cholera, malaria, and typhoid. "What do we do about biological systems right now?" says Smalley. "I don't see that it's any different from biotechnology. We can make bacteria and viruses that have never existed before, and we'll handle [nanobots] the same way."

Nanotech theorist Robert Freitas has written a study, "Some Limits to Global Ecophagy by Biovorous Nanoreplicators With Public Policy Recommendations," which concludes that all "scenarios examined appear to permit early detection by vigilant monitoring, thus enabling rapid deployment of effective defensive instrumentalities." Freitas persuasively argues that dangerous self-replicating nanobots could not emerge from laboratory accidents but would have to be made on purpose using very sophisticated technologies that would take years to develop.

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Magic Monopolies

Nanofactories would be magic boxes that could produce whatever a person desired. A world of nanotech abundance would be highly disruptive: If material needs could be satisfied at the touch of a button, who would have to work? Who would own the nanofactories? How would people pay for items produced by nanotechnology? If nanotech works, big changes are in store.

Not surprisingly, the ETC Group's worries in this connection are chiefly egalitarian, specifically that nanotechnology will increase the power of corporations and governments while further immiserating the poor. Yet the new technologies that have been developed during the last two centuries—antibiotics, electricity, telephony—have greatly benefited billions, and the main economic problem in the world is that billions are still too poor to gain access to them. Furthermore, new technologies tend to be safer than the ones they replace.

Let's consider a couple of dystopic nanotech visions outlined by University of Saskatchewan sociologist Michael Mehta, an ETC Group sympathizer: "nanopanopticism" and "nanomercantilism."

The philosopher Jeremy Bentham imagined an architecture for a prison he called the Panopticon. In Bentham's prison all the cells are open to surveillance by a single guard hidden in a tower at the center. The idea is that prisoners would behave themselves because they could never be sure they were not being watched. It doesn't take much imagination to see how nanotechnology could shrink video cameras and microphones while vastly expanding the ability to record and store information. In fact, this trend seems unavoidable in the long run. Such technology solely in the hands of governments and corporations would be oppressive.

Mehta, of course, recommends the creation of new regulatory agencies to control nanotechnology and the enactment of new privacy laws to protect against the advent of nanopanopticism. In his 1998 book *The Transparent Society: Will Technology Force Us to Choose Between Privacy and Freedom?*, science fiction writer and futurist David Brin suggests another way to handle intrusive surveillance: make sure the watchers are watched. Brin persuasively argues that if spies know they are likely to be observed, they will be more restrained. Along with invisible spy devices, nanotechnology will give us tiny sensors that tell people when they're under surveillance. Such spy countermeasures also might inhibit or destroy surveillance devices that approach too closely. There is an added benefit for those who worry that someone might abuse nanotechnology. In a truly transparent society, would-be terrorists who try to build dangerous replicators would always know someone could be monitoring them. In other words, nanopanopticism would deter misbehavior rather than encourage it.

Mehta's other concern is nanomercantilism. He suggests that once a country developed the capability for molecular manufacturing using nanoassemblers, it would lose its incentive to trade. There would be no need to trade raw materials because the feedstocks for nanofactories would be derived from ubiquitous substances such as dirt and air.

In another scenario, Mehta suggests that a nation with nanofactories would become so powerful that it could reduce the rest of the world to the status of colonies. Perhaps the countries or companies that develop assembler technology would build assemblers in other countries and sell licenses to manufacture various objects. Such a world would be a true information economy, with trade consisting chiefly of blueprints for products. Or countries might not want to give assemblers to other countries, in which case

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assembler products might be modeled on software that works only when a license fee is paid. If the licenses were not renewed, the products would stop working or fall apart.

Like the ETC Group, Mehta evidently believes the creators of assembler technology will want to manufacture artificial scarcities to keep or expand their power or to maintain certain social institutions. Perhaps so. But once it is known that building assemblers is possible, other countries and companies no doubt will embark on crash programs to create their own nanofactories. Assuming that nanofactories really can provide people with anything they need and want, why would anyone care to block access to them by others? To the extent that competition and status seeking are inherent in human nature, those drives in a world of nanotech abundance will have to be satisfied in new ways.

Dangerous Caution

To address the social and economic effects of nanotechnology, the ETC Group is proposing a sweeping international effort to regulate and control its development. "Extreme care should be taken that, unlike with biotech, society does not lose control of this technology," warns Mooney. For the ETC Group, raising health and environmental concerns about nanomaterials and nanobots is mainly a delaying tactic. "The biggest concern really is that with a technology as powerful as this one, society has a role in deciding how it can and will be used," says Mooney. "This is going to have a profound effect on people's lives. Let people know that their jobs are going to be taken away."

In an April report on nanotechnology, the ETC Group declares: "The international community must begin work on a legally binding mechanism to govern atomtechnology, based on the Precautionary Principle, one that will look beyond laboratory research to consider the wider health, socioeconomic and environmental implications of nanoscale technologies....This protocol should be embedded in one or more of the relevant United Nations agencies....Ultimately, ETC Group believes that the international regulations for atomtechnology should be incorporated under a new International Convention for the Evaluation of New Technologies (ICENT)."

The framework for ICENT's evaluation of new technologies would be the Precautionary Principle. As the ETC Group explains, "The Precautionary Principle says that governments have a responsibility to take preventive action to avoid harm to human health or the environment, even before scientific certainty of the harm has been established. Under the Precautionary Principle it is the proponent of a new technology, rather than the public, that bears the burden of proof." Greenpeace's Douglas Parr also advocates using the Precautionary Principle to regulate the development of nanotechnology.

The Precautionary Principle can be summarized as "never do anything for the first time." (See "Precautionary Tale," April 1999.) The chief problem with the Precautionary Principle is that it encourages the natural conservatism of our species. People far more easily imagine the harms new developments might bring than the benefits. But history clearly demonstrates that the benefits of modern technology have far outweighed the harms. "Basically, people who support the strong Precautionary Principle say, 'We don't care if we throw the baby out with the bathwater,'" says the Foresight Institute's Peterson. "They don't want any risks, so they are willing to forgo the benefits."

The ETC Group also wants nanotechnology regulation to be "transparent, democratic and involve those who are potentially adversely affected by new technologies." That last proviso might have given whale oil entrepreneurs the power to veto electric lighting or allowed mimeograph machine manufacturers to nix photocopiers. When asked about how Michael Faraday, the inventor of the electric motor, might have fared under an ICENT evaluation, Mooney doesn't blink. It would "have been great if we had had a societal discussion about the impact of electricity," he says. "Someone might have said, 'This is going to be hell on horses.'"

An effective ICENT would have an effect opposite from the one the ETC Group imagines. By forbidding the spread of a technology that could end hunger, homelessness, and pollution, ICENT would in effect force poor people to remain in their traditional menial jobs while preserving corporate profits.

Mehta agrees with the ETC Group. He points to the automobile as a transformative and disruptive technology. "In the late 1800s, 85 to 90 percent of vehicles were electric," he says. "If we had had a regulatory authority that could have made the decision to go with electric instead of internal

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combustion engines and the power to enforce it, we would be in a different world and would have avoided a lot of later problems like urban sprawl....In 1900 people didn't have a sensitivity to social issues or a well-developed social science. We can't risk the same thing with nanotechnology, which could accelerate social injustice."

It's not clear on what basis such an authority would have opted for electric cars over internal combustion engines. Electric cars were and are more expensive than cars fueled by gasoline. If only electric cars had been permitted, we might be living in a world where people were much poorer, more crowded, and suffering from heavy metal poisoning from lead/acid batteries. Ironically, it may well be nanotechnology that finally ushers in the age of affordable electric automobiles by making possible more-efficient batteries or better fuel cells.

ICENT Assent

The ETC Group's ICENT proposal is starting to be taken seriously. Committees of both the European Parliament and the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization have called for the adoption of an ICENT. "ICENT would have the power to conduct analyses of the economic impacts, the effects on labor, on restructuring society," says Mooney. "ICENT would examine all scientific, economic and social issues of any new technology." Mooney argues that ICENT would improve our ability to forecast the effects of new technologies.

The track record for social, economic, and technological forecasting by experts is not very encouraging. Consider the notorious 1972 Club of Rome study *The Limits to Growth* and President Carter's *Global 2000* report, both of which predicted that humanity would run out of a wide variety of natural resources by now. Or take Stanford University biologist Paul Ehrlich's prediction that hundreds of millions of people would starve to death in massive famines in the 1970s. Such forecasts are not harmless. The predictions in the 1970s that the world would soon run out of oil, for instance, resulted in the creation of the expensive and polluting Synfuels program.

Corporations aren't any better at forecasting than government agencies. In 1876 a Western Union internal memo concluded, "This 'telephone' has too many shortcomings to be seriously considered as a means of communication. The device is inherently of no value to us." In 1943 IBM CEO Thomas Watson famously predicted there would be a global demand for perhaps five computers.

Over the short term, nanotechnology will seem less odd than the telephone or the computer did. It will simply be incorporated into products that we already know how to use: computers, cameras, clothing, cars. It will make them function better and more cheaply. By contrast, a full-fledged nanotechnology, especially if molecular assemblers can be built, will disrupt all kinds of social and economic processes. Yet there is no reason to believe that humanity will be unable to cope with what is coming.

As for unintended consequences, someday something will go wrong with nanotechnology, as it has with electricity, cars, and computers. But we shouldn't deny ourselves the benefits of a new technology just because we cannot foresee every consequence. We should proceed by trial and error and ameliorate problems as they arise. That's how the dramatic progress humanity has seen during the last two centuries was accomplished. If an ICENT had existed in the 19th century, we probably would still be riding horses, using candles for lighting, cooking on wood stoves, and gulping whiskey for anesthesia.

Mooney comes close to celebrating the emancipating possibilities offered by the new technologies he fears. Yet he seems almost wistful for a time when he and many others believed ecological and economic collapse was imminent. "We have lived so long by the assumptions of *The Limits to Growth,* it is hard to contemplate alternative possibilities," he writes. "If nanotech does work, we might console ourselves with the knowledge that we were not really wrong all this time, it is just that *The Limits to Growth* have been postponed a few billion years....If nanotechnology is commercialized successfully, Armageddon may have to be put on the back burner."

Armageddon may indeed be postponed indefinitely, but only if, with due caution, we leave human genius free to harvest the fruits of technological progress. ▪

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Poor Man's Hero

Controversial writer Johan Norberg champions globalization as the best hope for the developing world.

Interviewed by Nick Gillespie

IF THERE IS any moral certainty underpinning today's anti-globalization movement, it's that desperate actions—from sometimes violent street demonstrations to public crop burnings to dressing up as giant sea turtles—are needed to protect the traditions, forests, and human rights of the Third World against the rapacious greed of the First. The anti-globo left has little doubt that anyone who favors international free trade, open markets, and the cultural mongrelization they foster must be a greedy corporate bastard hellbent on plundering the world's poor and chopping down the last tree left on the planet. On the right, if George W. Bush is any indication, a different sort of blindness is at work: It's OK to pass nakedly protectionist legislation as long as you talk a good game about favoring free trade.

This is why Johan Norberg, a 30-year-old Swede with roots in the anarchist left, is so important. He is the author of *In Defense of Global Capitalism*, which makes a powerful moral and economic case for globalization. Norberg throws rhetorical Molotov cocktails both at left-wing critics who would condemn developing countries to poverty by insisting on First World workplace and environmental standards as a prerequisite for trade and at Western governments whose free market rhetoric is shamefully undercut by draconian tariffs on textiles and agriculture, the two areas in which the developing world can actually compete.

Norberg focuses on the human dimension of globalization, how increased and freer trade is the best way to help the wretched of the earth. A bestseller in Sweden when it appeared there in 2001, *In Defense of Global Capitalism* is a richly detailed and nuanced brief in favor of globalization. It was translated for British audiences by the influential London free market think tank the Institute of Economic Affairs. The Cato Institute has just released a new and updated American translation by Roger Tanner (with help from **reason** Associate Editor Julian Sanchez, who previously worked at Cato).

A fellow at the Stockholm think tank Timbro, Norberg is the author of several previous books, including *State, Individual, and Market* (2000), *A History of Swedish Liberalism* (1998), and *The Resistance Man* (1997), a study of the Swedish writer Vilhelm Moberg.

In Defense of Global Capitalism is a compelling book on what is arguably the major economic issue of our time. In Johan Norberg, globalization has found a persuasive and passionate spokesman who may well reshape the terms of debate. If he succeeds in doing so, it won't be his first such success. In the early 1990s, as part of a libertarian group called the Freedom Front, Norberg helped to organize speakeasies that illegally sold liquor to protest Sweden's restrictive licensing laws. After the group grew to 30,000 members—and after more than a dozen raids by the police—Swedish politicians realized they couldn't contain what was becoming a broad-based social movement. Instead, they liberalized their laws, allowing drinking establishments to maintain longer hours. "That's my biggest political success to date," jokes Norberg.

Editor-in-Chief Nick Gillespie interviewed Norberg in Washington, D.C., in early September.

reason: Your book is titled *In Defense of Global Capitalism.* Can you summarize your case?

Johan Norberg: The core is that capitalism and globalization—by which I basically mean free and open markets and the liberal political, economic, and social institutions that support them—bring freedom of choice to people in countries that have never experienced this before. If we want to defend globalization—and we should—our focus must be on developing countries, not our own Western countries. Global capitalism means that people are no longer confined by the decisions of national elites. These could be the local monopolies, the local powers, politicians, and so on.

By making local powers compete or by bypassing them altogether, globalization gives people more

Che with Nike swoosh, Elise B. Rivera

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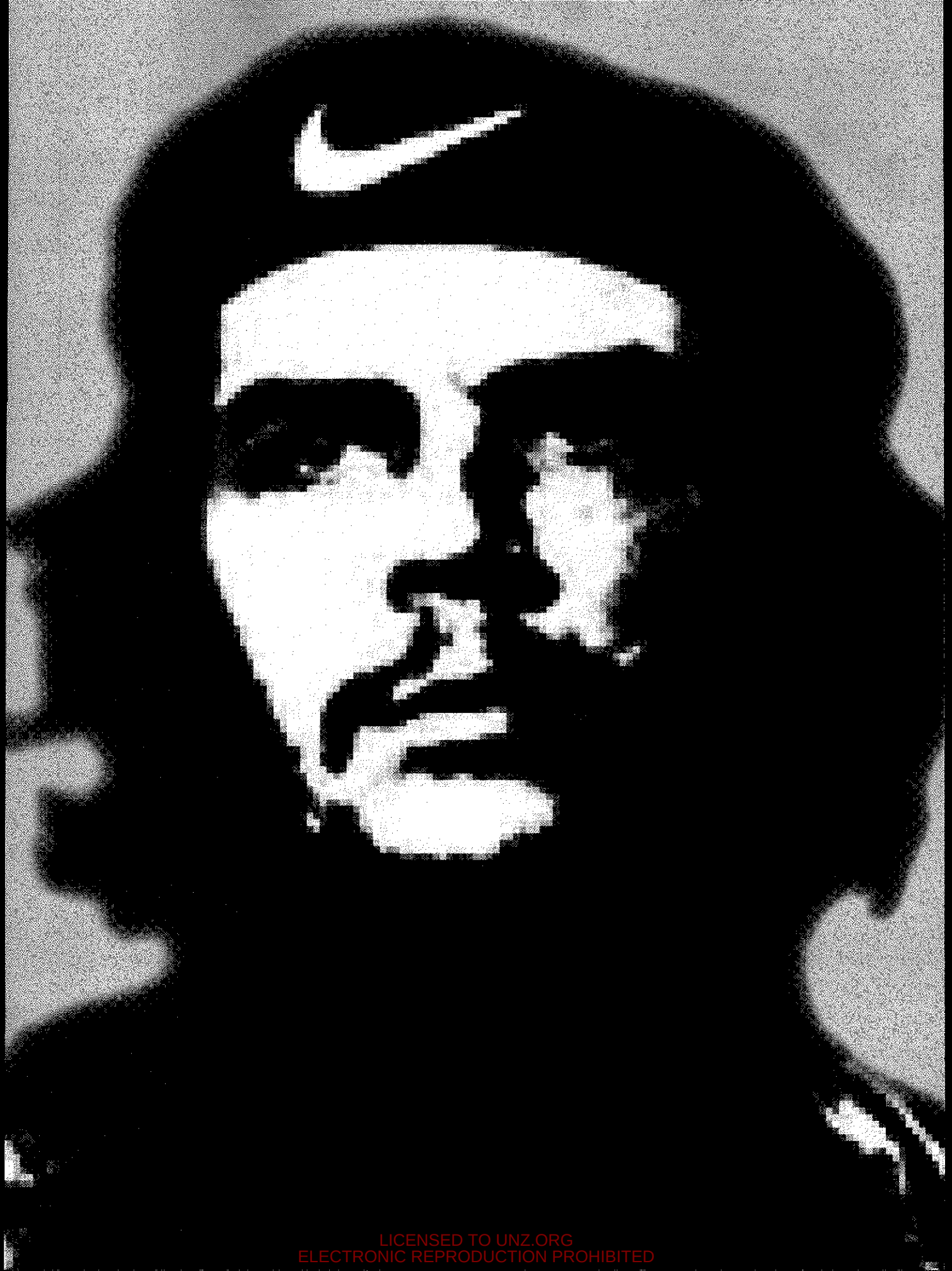

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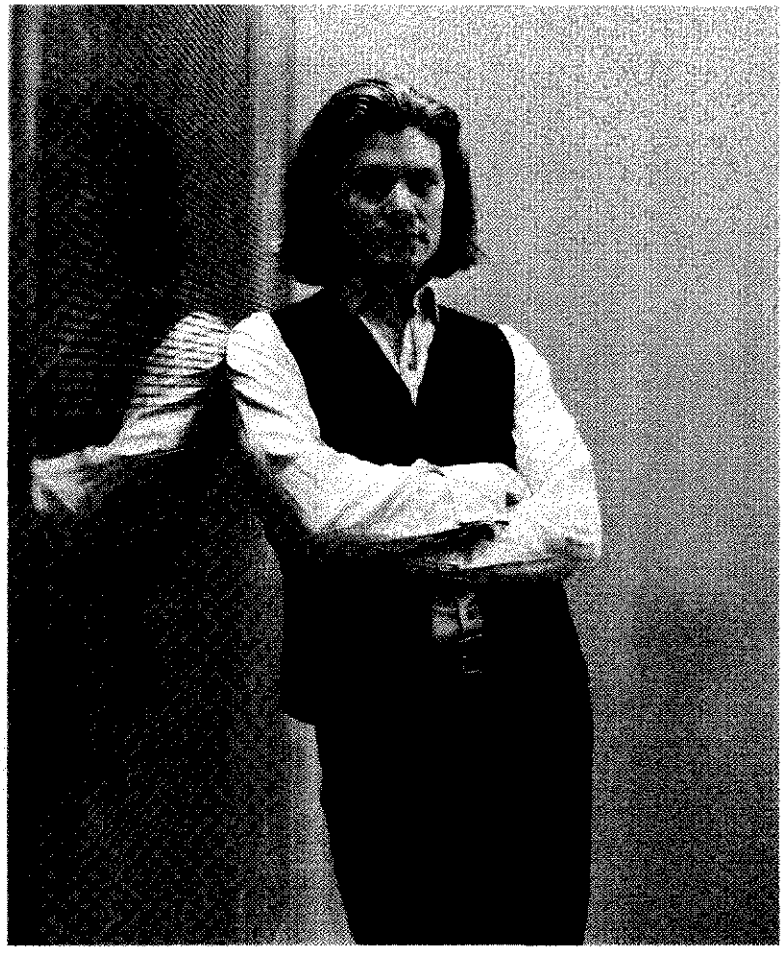

freedom to decide over their own consumption, to buy things from abroad, to get the cultural influences they want, to travel, to meet friends, and to cross borders.

reason: What's the evidence that global capitalism benefits people in poor countries?

Norberg: Take just about any statistic, any indicator of living standards in the world, and you can see the progress that has been made over the exact period that worries globalization critics. In the last 30 years we've seen chronic hunger and the extent of child labor being halved. In the last 40 years, we've seen life expectancy going up to 64 years in developing countries. We've seen literacy levels approaching the maximum in most countries in the world. According to World Bank statistics, 200 million people have left absolute poverty—defined as living on the equivalent of less than $1 a day—over the past 20 years. What's more, the most progress is found in the countries that increased trade and contacts with the outside world.

Globalization has also helped extend rights to women that had long been confined to men. These include being able to go into business, get an education, inherit money, and so on. One reason for this is simple economics. In a globalized, competitive economy, women are a potential resource. They are able to have new ideas, to produce, and to work. If you discriminate against women—or anyone else—you lose opportunities as a society or as an employer. Take the discussion that's going on now in Saudi Arabia about whether women should be allowed to drive, which they can't legally do now. While it's unlikely the situation there will change anytime soon, it's progress just to have the discussion. People are saying it's extremely costly to hire drivers, often from other countries, to drive women around. You can see how basic economics, basic capitalism, creates the incentive to give women more rights.

A second reason is that all the goods, ideas, and people that cross borders under globalization allow people to see more alternatives, to see other ways of living. When women and other oppressed groups in poor countries see how their counterparts in Western societies are treated, they begin to have ideas about how they want to be treated. Globalization is a great influence because people everywhere get all sorts of new ideas. They say, "Wow, things can be very different than I'm used to."

This isn't to say everything is rosy. Most things are getting better in the developing world, but there are new problems, including AIDS. Yet we can see the old scourges, the old diseases, being abolished. Life expectancy wouldn't be getting longer if things were getting worse in terms of health, hunger, and the environment. We have the few exceptions in sub-Saharan Africa, which also happens to consist of the very countries that are the least globalized. They have the least foreign investment and, generally speaking, the least political and economic liberty. More than anything, they need the sort of economic growth that will allow them to buy not simply relatively expensive AIDS drugs but penicillin and vaccines for more basic sorts of illnesses.

reason: Can you give a specific example of a developing nation that has benefited from globalization?

Norberg: Look at Vietnam, which I visited recently. It had the benefit that when the Communists took power there, they actually implemented their ideas. They collectivized agriculture and they destroyed private prop-

Johan Norberg, courtesy Cato Institute

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erty, which meant that in the mid-1980s people were starving there. The Communists' own ideas managed to do what the American bombs never did: destroy communism. In the wake of such failure, the government began to look for other examples, and they saw that Taiwan had succeeded by globalizing. The Communists in China were liberalizing trade and ownership laws and were seeing fast progress. The contrast is especially clear on the Korean peninsula. It's the same population, with the same culture, just having two very different political and economic systems. In 50 years, one of them went from hunger and poverty to Southern European living standards. The other one is still starving.

Looking at all this, the Vietnamese chose to go global. They began to price land and they began to open up for investments and for trade, which led to quick results. Agricultural production took off and has made them one of the world's biggest exporters of rice. But they also took in investments for manufacturing production. They've received tons of foreign investments and factories that gave people new opportunities and new resources that have increased their standard of living.

reason: Critics would say that what Vietnam really imported were sweatshops.

Norberg: Sweatshops are a natural stage of development. We had sweatshops in Sweden in the late 19th century. We complained about Japanese sweatshops 40 years ago. You had them here. In fact, you still do in some places. One mistake that Western critics of globalization make is that they compare their current working standards to those in the developing world: "Look, I'm sitting in a nice, air-conditioned office. Why should people in Vietnam really have to work in those terrible factories?" But you've got to compare things with the alternatives that people actually have in their own countries. The reason why their workplace standards and wages are generally lower is the lack of productivity, the lack of infrastructure, the lack of machinery, and so on. If workers were paid U.S. wages in Vietnam, employers wouldn't be able to hire them. The alternative for most workers would be to go back to agriculture, where they could work longer hours and get irregular and much lower wages.

Sweatshops are the way poor countries tap into their competitive advantage, which is cheap labor. Multinational corporations bring in more modern technology, including things like training and management systems, that actually increase productivity. When workers are more productive, they tend to earn more. That's why in a typical developing nation, if you're able to work for an American multinational, you make eight times the average wage. That's why people are lining up to get these jobs. When I was in Vietnam, I interviewed workers about their dreams and aspirations. The most common wish was that Nike, one of the major targets of the anti-globalization movement, would expand so that a worker's relatives could get a job with the company.

When unions, when protectionists, when uncompetitive corporations in the U.S. say that we shouldn't buy from countries like Vietnam because of its labor standards, they've got it all wrong. They're saying: "Look, you are too poor to trade with us. And that means that we won't trade with you. We won't buy your goods until you're as rich as we are." That's totally backwards. These countries won't get rich without being able to export goods.

reason: How much does the legacy of colonialism contribute to conditions in the developing world?

Norberg: It's part of the problem, though not in the sense that people usually claim. A lot of critics of globalization say that developed nations exploited and

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destroyed former colonies' natural resources and that's why former colonies are poor. That might be a problem in some cases, but what we see today is that, many times, the more natural resources a country has, the worse off things are for the general population. If there is a single valuable resource, then there are fierce power struggles to keep control of it within a small elite. Places without natural resources, such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore, have developed relatively broad-based economies, where countries rich in oil or minerals often have not. The broader an economy is, the more wealth and income are spread around. The best thing that could happen to the Arab world would be for them to run out of oil. Then they'd have to open up to trade, and a small number of people wouldn't be in control all of the wealth, as is the case in Saudi Arabia.

This sort of economic and political centralization is the really problematic legacy of colonialism. It created new, very strong power centers in a lot of places where they hadn't really existed before. You can see this in Africa. As the scholar George Ayittey has shown, in many African countries there once existed regional markets and local democracies where the chief was accountable to his people and had to follow their decisions. But when the colonizers appeared, they created power structures that weren't accountable in the same way. They extracted resources and, with the help of small groups of locals, became autocratic occupiers of the land. When they left, the local elites just took over the power structures and became the new occupation forces. They simply took over the machinery of power left by the colonizers.

That creates a sense that the only way to improve things is to seize centralized power, to control a country's political machinery. Many Western countries exacerbated this problem by distributing billions of dollars into these very centralized governments in extremely miserable and poor countries. The rulers would use some of this to buy off the people, but they mostly kept it for themselves and their associates. Everybody living there could see that if they wanted a good life for themselves and for their family, they had to seize political power—as opposed to, say, going into business or trade.

reason: Yet as you note, trade and economic liberalization are proceeding apace. Why now?

Norberg: For a number of reasons. The most important reason has to do with the end of the Cold War. During the Cold War, these power centers were supported by outside forces, mostly by the Soviet Union or the U.S. They poured money into these places to maintain influence, giving huge amounts to dictators with very little expectation that it would be used to improve things. Without that sort of money coming in, tyrants now have a harder time of it.

Kenya, where I've also been recently, is a perfect example of this. Daniel arap Moi, the longtime dictator, never would have lasted as long if he didn't get so much foreign aid from the U.S. and European countries. But in the early '90s, those countries started to say, "We won't continue to support you unless you do these things to improve your country." I'm not sure that foreign aid is a good way to create liberal policies, but what happened was that he was no longer given the support that he needed to stay in power. Suddenly you saw new power centers arise, new forces that began to challenge arap Moi. He had to implement elections and, though he always threatened the opposition forces, eventually they overtook him. Late last year, they won a presidential election, against his handpicked successor.

Now we have a new situation in Kenya. The government is actually supporting reforms, including economic liberalization.

reason: If the benefits of globalization are so obvious, why is there so much opposition to it, especially in the West? Vietnamese workers may be clamoring for more Nike factories, but protesters in Europe and North America are tossing bricks through the windows of McDonald's and Starbucks.

Norberg: The further you get from the West, the more positive people are toward globalization, toward more business and trade ties with the rest of the world. The most vocal opponents of globalization in poor countries are often funded by critics from wealthier countries. For instance, Vandana Shiva [director of the New Delhi–based Research Foundation for Science, Technology, and Ecology] is a very vocal opponent of economic liberalization and biotechnology, and she's funded by a lot of different Western groups. Actual farmers in the developing world mostly would like these new crops to actually get something done.

There are the old groups that have always been scared of foreign competition. Corporations that wouldn't be able to beat competition from other

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countries are one of them. In the U.S., that includes the textile industry, which has funded a lot of the anti-sweatshop propaganda. You see the same thing when it comes to unions that are trying to educate people against free trade, trying to block the NAFTA agreements, the World Trade Organization negotiations, and similar things. But there are newer pressure groups too. These include nongovernmental organizations that have been mostly interested in domestic issues, which could be anything from workplace safety to opposing privatization and outsourcing. In a globalized world, it makes sense for these groups to make their case in front of international bodies. Probably more than most, environmental groups understood that they have an interest in challenging the new globalization forces. They are used to being able to lobby their own governments to stop certain substances, to stop genetically modified crops and the like. They understand that they have to take their issues to the WTO and to be able to fight for them there.

All these groups may have different agendas—the unions are interested in domestic jobs and the greens in air quality—but they're willing to collaborate. They don't have the same views, and they don't have the same goals. But they do have the same enemy.

reason: Let's talk about the environmental groups a bit. In your book, you convincingly demonstrate that economic development is a boon to the environment because richer countries tend to pollute less. You point to research suggesting that economic growth correlates positively with cleaner air and water once countries reach around $10,000 per capita GDP—the level of South Korea, Argentina, and Slovenia. You argue that best way to clean the environment is to get the developing world to move as quickly as possible from a pre-industrial to a post-industrial economy. Why would environmental groups not buy that argument?

Norberg: I think that there are two basic reasons that lead environmentalists to oppose globalization and the industrial development that goes along with it. The first is a real concern about the environment. Many environmentalists care about green forests, clean air, clean water, and so on. What they don't appreciate is that attitude is itself a result of industrial development. In our countries, people didn't care about these things 100 years ago. Preferences shift when you can feed your children and give them an education. That's when you begin to care about these sorts of things. Environmentalists in this camp merely project a contemporary sense of these issues onto developing countries that are at the place where the West was a century ago. It's an intellectually honest mistake, one that new information and data can change. So can talking with people in developing countries.

But there's another motivation at work among some environmentalists. I don't think this viewpoint represents the majority, but it often includes the intellectual leaders of environmental groups. These are people who are bothered not by environmental degradation per se. Rather, they reject the modern project altogether. They are skeptical of the lifestyles and societies that we have created. They think we are alienated from nature compared to the past and that it is wrong to see nature as a tool that human beings can use for their own convenience and benefit. It's a fundamentally aesthetic understanding of the world that is reminiscent of early 19th century German romanticism. It paints a very distorted view of the pre-industrial world as a utopia. In reality, that world was a place in which starvation was the rule and not the exception.

I was extremely skeptical towards modern industrial society for a long time, so I understand these sentiments. If you live in an urban, developed area and your main experience of rural areas is secondhand,

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they're quite understandable. You feel very sad about countries that are modernizing and building factories, and about people who will be buying espresso machines that make loud noises instead of, I don't know, sitting around listening to the birds singing.

My attitude changed as I began to read history and understood what kind of circumstances my ancestors lived in. The world they lived in was far from ideal. It was starvation, it was children dying in the first year of their lives. And of course, backbreaking labor, including child labor, was everywhere. I think the best way to rebut this romantic, aesthetic challenge to globalization, to our modern project, is by actually looking at the circumstances of pre-industrial society.

reason: In your book, you really lay into Western governments, many of which talk out of both sides of their mouths when it comes to liberalizing trade. They want unfettered access to new markets, but they routinely employ protectionist tariffs against developing countries. You call this "the white man's shame" and point out that "Western duties on export commodities from the developing world are 30 percent above the global average."

Norberg: Since the end of the Second World War, we've liberalized trade in most areas. Ironically, the main places where we haven't done so are textiles and agriculture—the two very areas where poor countries can compete.

In the developed world, the textile and agricultural sectors are very strong special interest groups with a lot of political resources. They can make a lot of noise in the public debate. We know that if we open these markets to competition, we'll have to restructure those parts of our economies. People will have to change jobs and go into something else. That would be painful, of course, but it's outrageous, since those are precisely where poor countries would be able to do well.

reason: This opens up a larger question about increasing globalization. If trade laws come down to special interest politics, how do you defeat those interests? How do we get to a point where the U.S. and the European Union finally gives up on protectionism for textiles and agriculture?

Norberg: I think the first thing that is necessary is moral outrage. We need to explain what's on the line, what the cost is to poor people in the least developed countries. People are *dying* because we in the West are unwilling to change and to actually live by the free market rhetoric we often spout. We also have to explain to the public that it's not merely developing countries that lose out by these policies. We do too.

reason: How do we lose out?

Norberg: We deny ourselves access to better goods at cheaper prices from other countries. We lose out because we have to pay billions in tax-funded subsidies to these special interest groups so that they don't have to face competition. Agricultural subsidies cost something on the order of $1 billion a day in Western countries. We have to explain to people, "Look, if we have real free trade, we'll make another $1 billion every day, simply because we abolished our agricultural subsidies." One study I cite in the book estimates that the world would gain about $70 billion annually from a 40 percent tariff reduction on manufactures—and that 75 percent of that gain would go to developing nations.

reason: The WTO is meeting in Cancun as we're talking. What do you think of the WTO, which is a major target both of anti-globalizers and many free market advocates?

Norberg: It's a good thing that it exists, but it's rightly been called the free traders' deal with the devil. The best solution for all of us would be unilateral free trade: Just open our borders. We don't need *protection*

"The WTO is important, but it is a deal with the devil because it gives the impression that when we open up markets, when we give ourselves the opportunity to buy a wider variety of goods at better prices, we are giving up something."

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from cheap goods; they're exactly what we want!

Unfortunately, we don't live in a perfect world, and in that case I think that the WTO is important for two reasons. One is that it's hard to combat the special interests that are against opening up market access for other countries. But if we do it in multilateral negotiations, we can face the special interests and say: "OK, we might lose jobs in those sectors that we open up to competition. But in exchange we get access to new markets over here." That helps convince people in the export business. It helps get, say, unions on our side for free trade, and that's a good thing. The other reason that the WTO is important is that helps create a rule of law in the international trade system. We lock in free trade reform so that politicians can't backtrack every time there's a failure or a downturn in their national or local economy.

Those are reasons the WTO is important, but it really is a deal with the devil, if only because it gives the impression constantly that when we open up markets, when we give ourselves the opportunity to buy a wider variety of goods at better prices, we are giving up something. I think that's one of the reasons why we have a backlash against free trade. The president of the U.S. and everybody else always act as if free trade is some sort of concession.

reason: In the wake of the 9/11 attacks and the rationale offered for them by bin Laden, many observers in the West suggested that there was something intrinsic to the Arab world and Islam that makes them particularly uncomfortable with the creative destruction that accompanies what you've called "global capitalism." What do you think?

Norberg: There's something problematic when any religion is taken literally and when people try to impose it on others. It was true for Christianity and Europeans, who historically were happy to go the Holy Land and slaughter religious infidels there. Just 400 years ago in Europe, we had wars on religious grounds. The key was that Europe figured out ways of having different beliefs without slaughtering one another. It was secularization that saved the West, and the same thing has to happen with Islam. People don't have to give up religion, but they have to confine it to a private sphere and not try to impose it via force.

I think it will be both easier and harder for Islamic countries to go through the sort of secularization that Christian ones did. It's easier because in its basic teachings, Islam is much more pro-capitalist and pro-material wealth than Christianity ever was. Jesus was walking around telling people that rich people are evil and that they'll have a tough time getting to heaven. Muhammad, in contrast, was a trader. He was a capitalist himself, and he praises trade in many passages of the Koran. But it's also much more difficult because Muhammad was also a state builder. He saw religion and state as one and the same. The big challenge in the Arab Muslim countries is to bypass the injunction to theocracy and to confine Islam to private life.

Although I'm glad Saddam has been toppled—it's a good day whenever a tyrant is dethroned—I don't think that war and occupation are the way to do this. The best way is through globalization, through the introduction of new ideas, of Western influences, into these countries. You can see that happening even in Iran. You can see it happening in Jordan and Qatar and in many other countries that have more access to Western goods and media.

Because of globalization, it's easier for people to watch and read about Western societies, and more and more do. As we mentioned, Arab women see that Western women have the same rights and opportunities as men. That sort of contact is a great source of inspiration. The same thing happens when they see that we can express our own beliefs in a general way, in culture and in music. That's the big hope, I think, for the region. But we have to be very patient because it's going to take a long time. It took a long time for Japan to turn into a peaceful, productive country; it took nearly 50 years for South Korea to become something like a liberal democracy.

But I see the rise of fundamentalist forces in the Middle East not as a sign of the strength of their ideas. It's more a sign that they are terrified of the globalization that is already occurring. The fundamentalists can see that there's a new middle class growing in these countries and that these people are interested more in living the good life, in choosing their own lives, and not in following the literal teachings of the Koran. Critics of globalization worry about the Disneyfication or McDonaldization of culture, of standardization replacing "authentic" traditions. But it's more correct to say that no single culture is becoming dominant. Instead, it's pluralism, the freedom to choose among many different paths and destinations, that is gaining ground due to globalization and greater exchange. ▪

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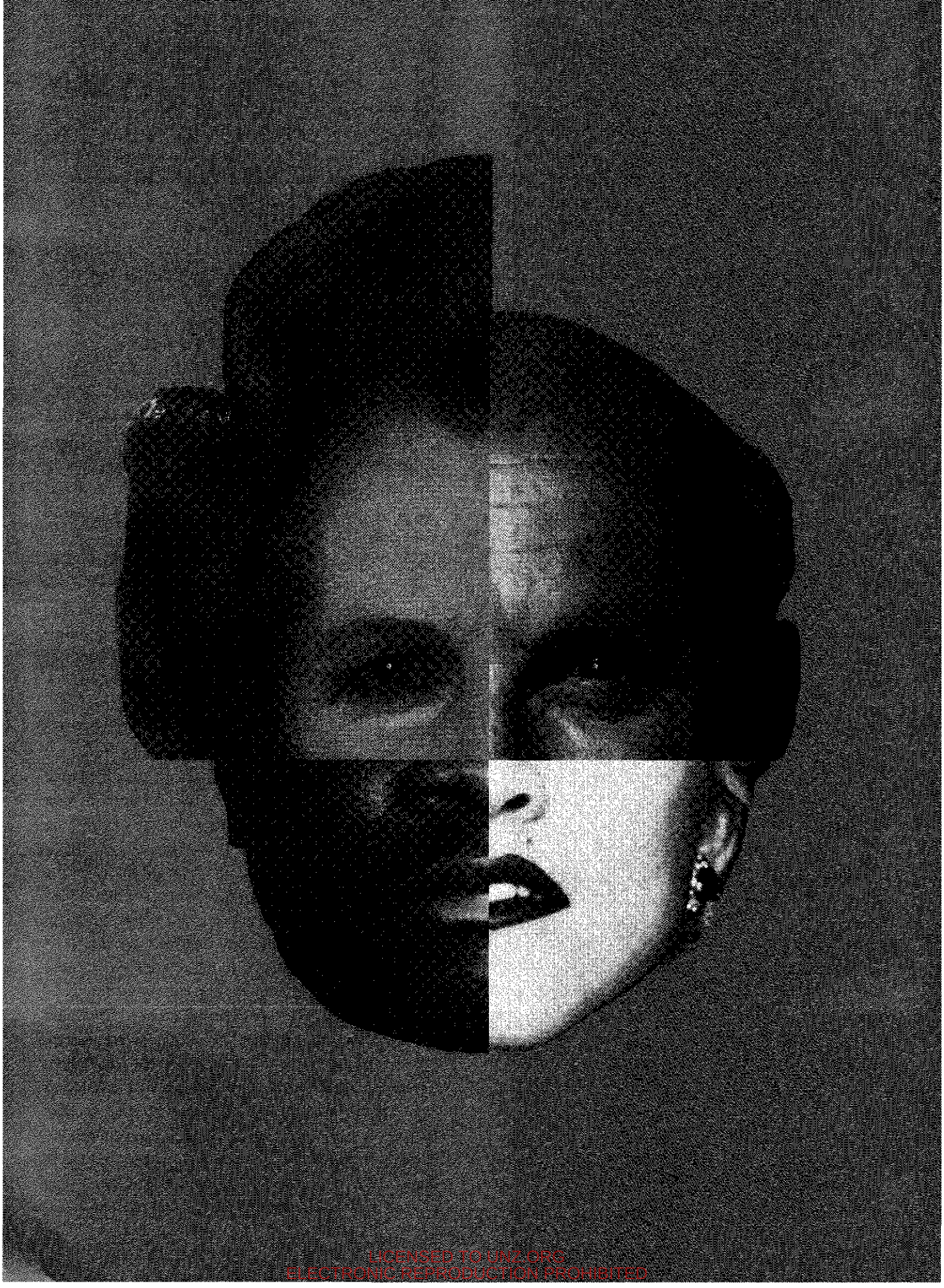

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35 Heroes of Freedom

Celebrating the people who have made the world groovier and groovier since 1968

"Things are a lot groovier now," declared former **reason** Editor-in-Chief Robert W. Poole back in 1988, on the occasion of **reason**'s 20th anniversary. During the magazine's first two decades, he pointed out, all sorts of political and cultural changes had occurred, most of them unambiguously for the better. The Vietnam War was history, stagflation had been vanquished, and technology that enabled everything from cleaner, more fuel-efficient cars to automated teller machines to videocassette recorders had vastly improved everyday life. As important, "numerous personal freedoms we take for granted were very tenuous in 1968." By 1988, the women's movement had revolutionized the home and workplace, gays were out of the closet for good, and the acceptance of other alternative lifestyles and generally rising standards of living had created a far looser, more liberated society.

No one could have predicted that the *next* 15 years would be the freest in human history (or that most of us would acknowledge such phenomenal progress with little more than a shrug). Half a billion people or more have escaped the gray hand of totalitarian communism, and the percentage of people living in poverty is declining worldwide. The Soviet empire is kaput, and so are the Cold War proxy battles that poisoned relations around the world. South Africa's revolting apartheid system is no more, and South America, though a basket case in many ways, boasts mostly democratic governments. Globally, economic freedom is on the rise, bringing with it an invigorating, intoxicating mix of goods, people, and cultures. Scientific breakthroughs continue to enrich lives, alleviate suffering, and improve the environment. The digital revolution has given rise to new means of expression, commerce, and community.

The ideas that have always animated this magazine—that the good society is one in which people are as free as possible to pursue happiness on their own terms; that economic and civil liberties are indivisible; that markets and borders and societies should be open and that governments should be limited; that there is no one best way to run a country, a business, a family, a life—have moved from the fringes of the debate to the center, in some cases even becoming the conventional wisdom.

While there is no shortage of threats to life and liberty—from international terrorism to poverty-inducing trade barriers to the deadly war on drugs—these are indeed high times for a magazine devoted to exploring the promises of "Free Minds and Free Markets." For all of its many problems, the world we live in is dizzying in its variety, breathtaking in its riches, and wide-ranging in its options. Malcontents on the right and left who diagnose modernity as suffering from "affluenza" or "options anxiety" will admit this much: These days we've even got a greater choice of ways to be unhappy. Which may be as close to a definition of utopia as we're likely to come.

What follows is **reason**'s tribute to some of the people who have made the world a freer, better, and more libertarian place by example, invention, or action. The one criterion: Honorees needed to have been alive at some point during **reason**'s run, which began in May 1968. The list is by design eclectic, irreverent, and woefully incomplete, but it limns the many ways in which the world has

Margaret Thatcher, CORBIS; Milton Friedman, CORBIS; Madonna, ZUMA Press; Clarence Thomas, CORBIS

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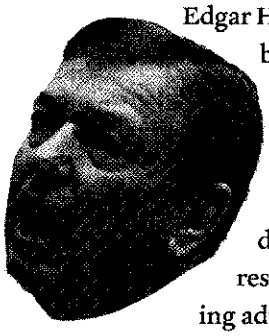
only gotten groovier and groovier during the last 35 years.

Direct angry responses about obvious omissions and mistakes to letters@reason.com.

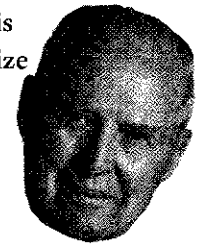
John Ashcroft. If Donny and Marie Osmond were a little bit country and a little bit rock 'n' roll, the current attorney general is little bit J. Edgar Hoover and a little bit Janet Reno.



Whether it's prosecuting medical marijuana users, devoting scarce resources to arresting adult porn distributors, or using tax dollars to create USA PATRIOT Act propaganda Web sites, Ashcroft has managed to create an unprecedented coalition of conservatives, liberals, and libertarians around a single noble cause: the protection of civil liberties.

Jeff Bezos. The world's greatest bookstore may yet go belly up, but Amazon's founder has revolutionized commerce and made all hard-to-find tomes easier to track down—especially if you live 1,000 miles from the nearest B. Dalton's. Now he's doing the same with clothes, toys, electronics, and more. His Segway enthusiasm notwithstanding, Bezos runs a company that consistently leads the pack in collaborative software, customer service, recommendations, you name it.

Norman Borlaug. The "father of the Green Revolution" is one Nobel Peace Prize winner (1970) who fully deserved the honor. Not only did he help raise crop yields in the developing world so that literally billions of people didn't starve, he remains an outspoken critic of environmentalists who attack the biotechnology that will help wipe out world hunger, of international development programs that often do more harm than good, and of kleptocrats who fill their own stomachs while their citizens starve.

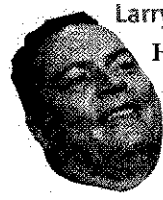


Stewart Brand. By introducing the *Whole Earth Catalog* in 1968, he helped give birth to the most individualist wing of the hippie counterculture. "We are as gods," the first issue announced, "and might as well get good at it. So far, remotely done power and glory—as via government, big business, formal education, church—has succeeded to the point where gross defects obscure actual gains. In response to this dilemma... personal power is developing—power of the individual to conduct his own education, find his own inspiration, shape his own environment, and share his adventure with whoever is interested. Tools that aid this process are sought and promoted by the Whole Earth Catalog." A couple decades later, he helped create one of the first great Internet communities, the Well.

William Burroughs. Along with Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg, a member of the Beat Holy Trinity that helped to irrevocably loosen up Eisenhower's America. Not only is his fiction (*Junky, Naked Lunch, Nova Express*) relentlessly anti-authoritarian, he proved that you can abuse your body in every way imaginable and still outlive the entire universe.

Curt Flood. The Moses of free agency in professional sports, the star St. Louis Cardinals outfielder started the process that led to athletes' getting paid something close to what they're actually worth. While he never personally made it to the Promised Land of fan-alienating fat contracts, his principled martyrdom helped all American workers to finally shrug off the Organization Man mentality.

Larry Flynt. Where Hugh Hefner mainstreamed bohemian sexual mores, hard-core porn merchant Flynt brought tastelessness to new depths, inspiring an unthinkable but revealing coalition between social conservatives and puritanical feminists—and helping to strengthen First Amendment protections for free expression along the way.



Milton Friedman. The 91-year-old Nobel Prize–winning economist didn't just co-author *Free to Choose*, the book that pumped up Arnold Schwarzenegger's mind. He's brought libertarian ideas both to a mass audience and to the elite ranks of policy makers, helped to end the draft and discredit wage and price controls, popularized the privatization of schooling and pensions, and made criticism of the war on drugs respectable.

Barry Goldwater. The iconic Arizona senator offered "a choice, not an echo" in his laughably doomed 1964 presidential campaign. He bridged the tradition of Western individualism with the then-barely-glimpsed future of Sunbelt anti-governmentism, inspiring later revolts such

John Ashcroft, AP/Wide World Photos; Norman Borlaug, Mark Beal/Texas A&M University Relations; Larry

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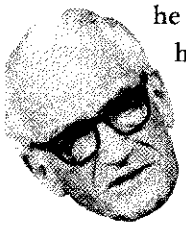
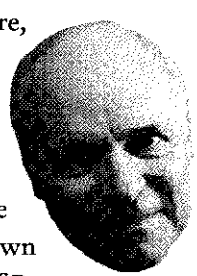
as California's Prop. 13. Though he might have used nukes in Vietnam, he more likely would have pulled out; he also helped convince Nixon to resign. A maverick to the end, he even supported gays in the military.



F. A. Hayek. He mapped the road to serfdom during World War II and paid a steep price—decades-long professional isolation—for daring to suggest that social democracy had something in common with collectivist tyrannies of the right and left. The economist-cum-philosopher lived to see his arguments vindicated by the failure of the Third Way and even took home a Nobel Prize in 1974. Building on the work of that other great Austrian economist, Ludwig von Mises, and combining a respect for inherited wisdom with an understanding that freedom is fundamentally disruptive, Hayek showed that the uncoordinated actions of individuals generate wonders—market prices, language, scientific progress—that the deliberate designs of central planners never could.

Brian Lamb. The Great Stone Face of C-SPAN has produced more must-see TV than anyone else in the history of the medium. There's no reason to pick a favorite among the likes of *Booknotes*, *Washington Journal*, and all the other C-SPAN fare, but his greatest contribution may well be his first: turning a surveillance camera on the den of iniquity known as the U.S. House of Representatives.

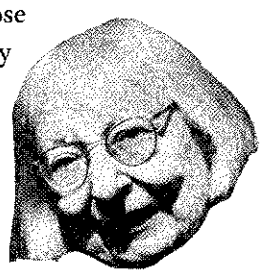


Barry Goldwater, Ayn Rand: Jeff Jacobs/Hillstrom Stock Photo; Robert Heinlein: UPI/Corbis-Bettmann; Jane Jacobs: Bettmann/Corbis; Alfred Kahn: Corbis; Rose Wilder Lane, courtesy NARA; Madonna: ZUMA Press

Vaclav Havel. Havel demonstrated definitively that the simple act of speaking truth to totalitarians, while being willing to suffer the consequences, is more potent than a thousand tanks. He pushed artistic boundaries, defended the right of rock stars to be filthy, helped engineer the most magical of the Communist-toppling revolutions, and then remained an influential moral voice long after his regional counterparts faded away.

Robert Heinlein. The author of compelling science fiction with individualist themes was the entry point for millions of readers into rabid, late-night arguments about rights, responsibilities, the state, and *really* alternative sexual practices. If you don't grok *Starship Troopers*, *Stranger in a Strange Land*, *The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress*, and *Time Enough for Love*, you just plain can't grok anything.

Jane Jacobs. There's Jane Jacobs the scholar, whose books (especially *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*) undermined the ideas of planners who either hated the city or thought they could mold it into a grand monument without regard for how the people who lived in it preferred to live their lives. And then there's Jane Jacobs the activist, who went to the barricades to keep people like Robert Moses from ripping out the heart of the particular cities she lived in. Few others did as much to defend the lives people forged for themselves against the static visions planning elites love to impose.



Alfred Kahn. As head of the defunct Civil Aeronautics Board during the Carter years, "the architect of deregulation" pushed for free markets in the airline industry, ushering in an age in which virtually every slob in America could afford to fly and providing an unassailable example of markets delivering better prices and greater safety than government regulation. Snobs sniff that Kahn turned once-classy airlines into buses in the sky, which is just one more reason to praise him.

Rose Wilder Lane. The daughter of Laura Ingalls Wilder, Lane extensively edited and shaped that great alternative history of American settlement, the *Little House* books, which place the family, community, and commerce—rather than male adventure, escape, and violence—at the heart of our national experience. She was a prolific author in her own right and, along with Isabel Patterson and Ayn Rand, one of the three godmothers of modern libertarianism. Lane's *The Discovery of Freedom: Man's Struggle Against Authority* remains a powerful statement about the evolution and necessity of individual rights.

Madonna. As one of the first music video megastars, the Material Girl led MTV's glorious parade of freaks, gender-benders, and weirdos who helped broaden the palette of acceptable cultural identities and destroy whatever ves-

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tiges of repressive mainstream sensibilities still remained. Along the way, her continuous self-fashioning has brought so many avant-hip trends to the masses that we can even forgive her current fake English accent and children's book phase.

Nelson Mandela. Mandela cheerfully served a prison sentence that would have left Jesus bitter and spiteful. Sprung from jail, he showed remarkable forbearance and amity in overseeing South Africa's post-apartheid transition, creating a model for how the world might finally push past centuries-old racial strife. His quest for personal freedom continued into his ninth decade, when he divorced the murderous Winnie and happily remarried.

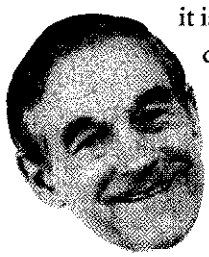
Martina Navratilova. The dominant tennis player (male or female) of her day, Martina defected from Czechoslovakia in 1975 to pursue personal and professional freedom, writing, "I honestly believe I was born to be an American." As the first superstar athlete to admit she was gay and the first woman to play tennis like a man, Martina did more than inspire movies like *Personal Best*; she smashed stultifying stereotypes like so many poorly hit lobs.

Willie Nelson. One of the great crossover artists in popular music, the Texas legend pulled off a Martin Luther King Jr.–like achievement by uniting hippies and rednecks in a single audience. An inadvertent hero to tax resisters everywhere, Nelson brought the battle against puritanism to the very roof of the Carter White House, where he famously smoked dope to relieve his—and our—national malaise.

Richard Nixon. Between waging secret wars, enacting wage and price controls, and producing Watergate, Tricky Dick did more than any other single individual to encourage cynicism about government and wariness of presidential power.

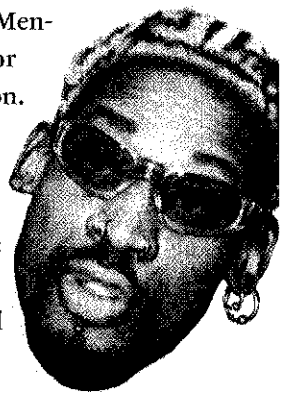
Les Paul. Paul was a terrific jazz guitarist who invented the solid-body electric guitar in 1947, helping usher in America's most liberating cultural invention of the latter 20th century, rock 'n' roll. He pioneered multitracked recording and built the first eight-track, which put the *D* into *DIY* while allowing bands like the Beatles to make lasting works of art.

Ron Paul. Paul is the only member of Congress who always votes according to the principles they all should follow. First, he asks if the program is authorized by the Constitution. If it is, he then consults his campaign promises, which include pledges to never raise taxes or increase spending. Look for his votes in the *nay* column.



Ayn Rand. While her private life outstripped them in terms of melodrama, there's no denying that novels such as *The Fountainhead* and *Atlas Shrugged* introduced libertarian ideas to millions of readers in a vivid, compelling way, encouraging them to reject the cult of self-sacrifice, oppose the demands of collectivism, and question the rule of experts. In contrast to the half-hearted, pusillanimous defenses of capitalism offered by conservatives, she explained why a system of peaceful, voluntary exchange is morally right as well as efficient.

Dennis Rodman. As a cross-dressing, serially pierced, tattoo-laden, multiple National Basketball Association championship ring holder, the Worm set an X-Men-level standard for cultural mutation. His flamboyant, frequently gayish antics place him in apostolic succession to a madcap handful of athletes such as Joe Namath, Rollie Fingers, and Muhammad Ali, all of whom challenged the lantern-jawed stiffness that had traditionally made sports stars such dull role models.



Louis Rossetto. The genius behind *Wired* magazine didn't merely chronicle the digital revolution that continues to shape our world: He helped to conceptualize and realize it. Long after the tech bubble burst, his crucial insight—that new technologies are undermining all existing authorities and empowering end users in new and subversive ways—remains a guide to the future.

Julian Simon. In books such as *The Ultimate Resource* and *The State of Humanity*, the late "Doomslayer" patiently and exhaustively collected the data proving that neo-Malthusians such as Paul Ehrlich and Lester Brown were blowing smoke about environmental degradation and overpopulation. More impressive still: This oracle of optimism suffered from depression much of his adult life.

Thomas Szasz. Since the 1961 publication of *The Myth of Mental Illness*, the great and tireless critic of the

Ron Paul; Dennis Rodman. AP/Wide World Photos

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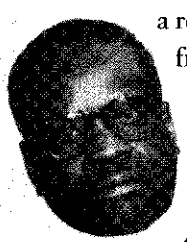
therapeutic state (and longtime **reason** contributing editor) has never stopped pointing out the coercive implications of politicizing medicine and medicalizing politics.

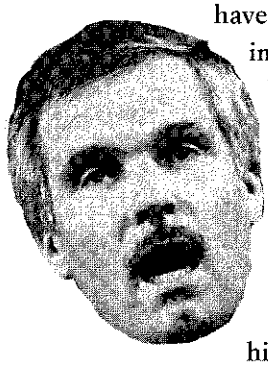
Margaret Thatcher. The much-maligned Iron Lady set the pace for the rollback of nationalized industries throughout Western Europe, doing the heavy lifting needed to change England from the Sex Pistols' land of "no future" to today's Cool Britannia. More important, she outsmarted the racist "repatriation" crowd that put her into office through pro-small-business policies that helped complete the Pakistanization of the U.K. On top of it all, she was the only reliable supporter of the U.S. in the Cold War's final stages.

Clarence Thomas. After surviving the Hiroshima of confirmation hearings, Thomas has emerged as an all-too-rare advocate on the Supreme Court for federalism, the enumerated powers doctrine, and a constrained view of the Commerce Clause. He's also a reliable defender of freedom of speech in such diverse contexts as advertising, broadcasting, and campaign contributions.



The Tiananmen Square martyr. By putting his life on the line in front of his government's tanks, he provided not only one of the most memorable images of the last 35 years but one of the most inspiring too. The free China of the future owes him a statue or two.

Ted Turner. By launching CNN, the socialist idiot savant created the 24-hour news cycle, familiarized audiences around the world with the idea of globalization, proved the necessity of cable television, and inspired countless imitators who have collectively reshaped and improved the news media by giving voice to more and more viewpoints. Bonus points: After 50 years of confrontation via the Olympics, Turner's ironically titled Goodwill Games flop provided a hint that the Soviet Union likely would end with not a bang but a whimper.

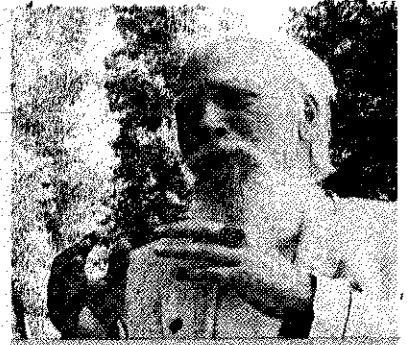


Evan Williams. With a little luck and a lot of technology, Williams did as much as anyone in history to provide the once-scarce freedom of the press to millions of individuals, through his co-founding of Pyra Labs, which introduced easy-to-use Blogger technology and free-as-air Blogspot hosting to the masses.

The Yuppie. This widely reviled Reagan-era social construct opened up to ordinary people countless pleasures and pursuits once reserved for the upper class, from "gourmet" food to good-looking cars to nicely designed furniture to fancy-pants literary devices to an obsession with Tuscany. In striving "upward," Yuppies spurred a massive exfoliation of choice at all levels of American society.

Phil Zimmerman. By inventing and distributing Pretty Good Privacy, a free, easy, and damn-nigh uncrackable e-mail encryption program, he gave dissidents everywhere the ability to communicate without fear—all while challenging his own government's attempt to control that ability. He's living proof that a single individual with a good idea can make a huge difference. ■

Photos: *Maybe Logic*, Deepleaf Productions



Live From Chapel Perilous

We're living in Robert Anton Wilson's world

by Jim Dwyer

In 1973 Thomas Pynchon published an enormous experimental novel called *Gravity's Rainbow*. In 1975 Robert Shea and Robert Anton Wilson published an enormous experimental trilogy called *Illuminatus!* Both were written at about the same time, and both offered panoramic perspectives on history, liberty, and paranoia.

Gravity's Rainbow won the National Book Award. *Illuminatus!* won no awards, save a science fiction prize issued a decade later. *Gravity's Rainbow* is often assigned in college classes. *Illuminatus!* might be required in some school somewhere, but such spots are surely few. Judging from anecdotal evidence, more people have started *Gravity's Rainbow* than *Illuminatus!* But far more people have finished *Illuminatus!* than *Gravity's Rainbow*.

Robert Anton Wilson is the unacknowledged elephant in our cultural living room: a direct and indirect influence on popular books, movies, TV shows, music, games, com- »

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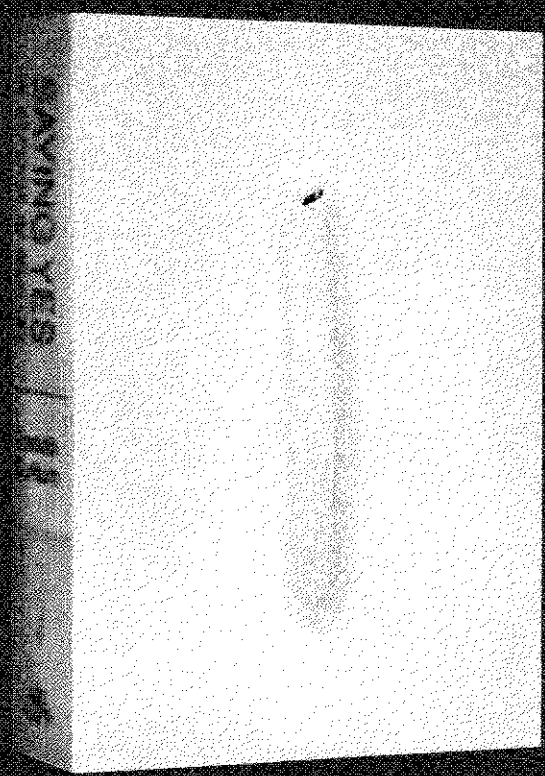

In ***Saying Yes***, Jacob Sullum of *Reason* argues that illegal drug use should be viewed the same way as drinking, with an emphasis on temperance rather than abstinence. Sullum rejects the idea that there is something inherently wrong with using chemicals to alter one's mood or mind. He uses compelling stories about real people to illustrate the point that there is such a thing as responsible drug use.

The drug war is based on the demonization of drugs and the people who use them. The assumption that certain drugs cannot be used responsibly is one of the biggest obstacles to drug policy reform. By refuting this myth, ***Saying Yes*** takes a bold and important step toward ending the nation's costly and devastating war on drugs.

"A welcome departure from the choreographed outrage of the War on Drugs."
—Washington Post Book World

"A highly effective debunking...well-written, persuasive, and important."
—National Review

"Deft, judicious, and thorough, Sullum's book is a healthy dose of sober talk in a debate dominated by yelping dopes."
—Mother Jones

Saying Yes

In bookstores everywhere

Visit www.reason.com/sayingyes/

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Balls

The joy of watching ideas win

Matt Welch

Moneyball: The Art of Winning an Unfair Game, by Michael Lewis, New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 275 pages, $24.95

IF EVER YOU were going to judge a book by the reaction to it, an excellent candidate would be *Moneyball*, reporter Michael Lewis' terrific and brisk account of how a long-simmering and mostly amateur analytical revolution was finally acknowledged, embraced, and ruthlessly implemented by a Major League Baseball executive: Oakland A's General Manager Billy Beane. It's a tale of what happens when an energetic manager realizes that "the pursuit of truth [is], suddenly, the key to success," and that the possessors of this truth are outsiders shunned by the rigid hierarchy and insular mind-set that has dominated an industry for a century. You don't have to be a baseball fan to enjoy the story and thrill to its non-sporting implications.

Beane is the most visible and successful proponent of a new school of baseball thought and scientific analysis that for the last quarter century has been demonstrating, in voluminous detail and with caustic wit, that much of what you've always known about the national pastime is just plain bunk. Dependable "clutch hitters"? They basically don't exist, study after "sabermetric" study has shown. (*Sabermetrics*, a word coined by the discipline's revered popularizer, Bill James, is derived from the Society for American Baseball Research.) Pitching and defense win championships, right? They don't without good offense, James and others have shown. Are minor league and college statistics meaningless predictors of major league value, especially when compared to eyewitness observation? Actually, something much closer to the opposite is true.

Not surprisingly, some professional dispensers of these leathery, increasingly insupportable clichés have issued denunciations of *Moneyball* so laughably distant from the sabermetricians' treasured scientific method that they inadvertently added fuel to the statheads' rapidly spreading fire.

Hall of Fame second baseman turned dull broadcaster Joe Morgan repeatedly criticized Billy Beane for having the nerve to write such a book, even though, um, Beane didn't. ESPN.com columnist Ralph Wiley suggested that Bill James had a possibly racial anti-Rickey Henderson motive for disparaging reckless base stealing 20 years ago. Actually, James has spilled more ink defending Henderson's greatness than any writer I'm aware of. *Toronto Star* baseball writers Richard Griffin and Geoff Baker, who have been railing against *Moneyball* all summer (Toronto Blue Jays General Manager J.P. Ricciardi is a former protégé of Beane), both suggested that sabermetrics has helped transform their team into the "White Jays"—a bunch of boring, slow-footed Caucasians good mainly for drawing walks and hitting home runs. "Ricciardi along with Oakland's Billy Beane and other new-wavers believe in building offence through patience at the plate and taking no chances on the bases," Griffin wrote. "That's a pre-WWII style of play. Under those criteria, Jackie Robinson could not have played in the majors." This is pure nonsense; Robinson is a stat geek favorite for his high-percentage base stealing, vastly underrated defense, and high walk rates, in addition to his barrier-breaking courage.

In a later column, Griffin branded the Society for American Baseball Research a "cult." Tracy Ringolsby, longtime diamond columnist for the *Rocky Mountain News* and *Baseball America*, trashed *Moneyball* as a "one-sided, poorly researched piece of literature," written by a man with "limited knowledge of baseball" who failed

Continued on page 21

ics, and commentary. (His late co-author has left less of a mark: Many of Wilson's books have cult followings, while the only Shea effort to make a big splash was the trilogy he wrote with Wilson.) Allusions to Wilson's work appear in places both classy and trashy: There's a Wilsonian stamp on films as diverse as *Magnolia*, *The Mothman Prophecies*, and *Sex and Lucia*, and it's because of Wilson and Shea that the Illuminati, a secret society that once lurked only in right-wing conspiracy tracts, became the villains of *Lara Croft, Tomb Raider*. Now Wilson's the star of a lively documentary, *Maybe Logic*, that's being screened at film festivals and distributed on DVD.

Wilson is a primary source for the ironic style of conspiracism, a sensibility that treats alleged cabals not as intrigues to be exposed or lies to be debunked but as a bizarre mutant mythos to be mined for laughs, metaphors, and social insights. If you were an amused aficionado of conspiracy folklore in 1963, you were a lone hobbyist or specialist. By 1983, you could turn to a number of fanzines, comics, and weirdo institutions such as the Church of the SubGenius, a satiric cult founded by some *Illuminatus!* fans. By 1993, you were a target market for several half-joking mass-market conspiracy tomes; your sensibility was reflected regularly in magazines such as *Mondo 2000* and *The Nose*; and two brand new pop juggernauts were about to enter your »

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to appreciate the evidence of Beane's shortcomings. "Heck," Ringolsby triumphantly announced, "the A's haven't even been to the World Series in the Billy Beane era."

Of course, neither have 21 other teams (out of a possible 30) since Beane was hired in 1997. But there are other factors in evaluating an organization's performance. For instance, since the beginning of 2000, only one other major league club has won more regular season games than Oakland (the Seattle Mariners, who have just one more win), and the A's have achieved this despite being restricted by one of the smallest budgets in baseball. Oakland's payroll for the 2003 season, when the team made its fourth consecutive trip to the playoffs, was $49 million; that's $10 million less than the Detroit Tigers, who this year set the American League record for losses in a season. Industry wide, the average annual payroll is around $75 million; the New York Yankees, who barely squeaked by the A's in the 2000 and 2001 playoffs, spend $180 million, more than three times as much.

Lewis, a gifted writer best known for his 1989 Wall Street memoir *Liar's Poker*, wanted to figure out just how David was managing to compete with Goliath, year after year. What he discovered was the first-ever baseball organization to rip up more than 100 years' worth of tradition by adopting, from the owner's box down to the lowest minor league scout, a total organizational approach based on the principles and information hashed out in the thriving and mostly ignored subculture of baseball analysis. Working in a comparatively small city and saddled with a lousy stadium, the A's were financially desperate enough to consider radical measures for finding quality players grossly undervalued by the market. Sandy Alderson, a rare baseball outsider turned general manager who ran the mostly successful franchise through most of the 1980s and '90s, had been an early enthusiast of sabermetrics, and he sprinkled his organization with people open to its ideas. But it wasn't until the team ownership changed in 1995 that his budget mandate became grim enough to accelerate the process. That's when he gave one of his new hires, an intellectually restless young ex-player named Billy Beane, a stack of *Baseball Abstracts*, the seminal annual books authored from 1977 through 1988 by Bill James.

The analytic revolution thrived precisely because from its early days people argued passionately with each other.

Being introduced to James' contrarian and original writing—not unlike encountering *Moneyball* for the first time—can permanently alter one's brain chemistry. Lewis himself experienced the phenomenon after Billy Beane lent him his old *Abstracts*. "What stunned me," the author told the stat geek site BaseballPrimer.com, "was the literary eloquence of Bill James. I was absolutely astonished.... I could not believe that I didn't know who this man was. I was just astonished by it. It was a combination of the clarity of the thought and the joy of the way it's expressed. It just seemed totally original and fresh to me."

James, a night watchman at a pork and beans factory, sold 75 of his first *Abstract*, a stapled, mimeographed sheet full of new statistical curios: average length of games by individual umpire, attendance by pitcher, etc. His figures were flavored with the occasional verbal dart. In the 1982 *Abstract*, for instance, he had this to say about Dave Parker: "There is no doubt about it: It is hard to play baseball well when you're fat." Or on Duane Kuiper, in the same edition: "It's absolutely incredible that a player this bad could be given 3000 at bats in the major leagues."

Jabs aside, James' formulas and stubbornly sensible observations began seeping into the consciousness of the game, especially after the book was picked up by Ballantine and became an annual bestseller. The object of offense was scoring runs while preventing outs, and by far the two most important factors in scoring runs were the ability to get on base (measure by on-base percentage) and the ability to advance runners (slugging percentage). Batting average, just a component of both, was vastly overrated when compared to drawing walks and hitting for power; 1970s catcher Gene Tenace, with his low batting average and high walk numbers, was never considered the offensive equivalent of his singles-hitting counterpart Manny Sanguillen, when in fact Tenace was his run-producing superior by a wide margin. The effects of individual ballparks distorted statistics more than most people realized. Hitters in Fenway Park and Wrigley Field were overrated, as were pitchers in the Astrodome and Dodger Stadium. Positions on defense were aligned on an invisible spectrum, with the more challenging middle-infield spots on the left (where offense wasn't so important), first basemen and designated hitters on the right. (As James was making

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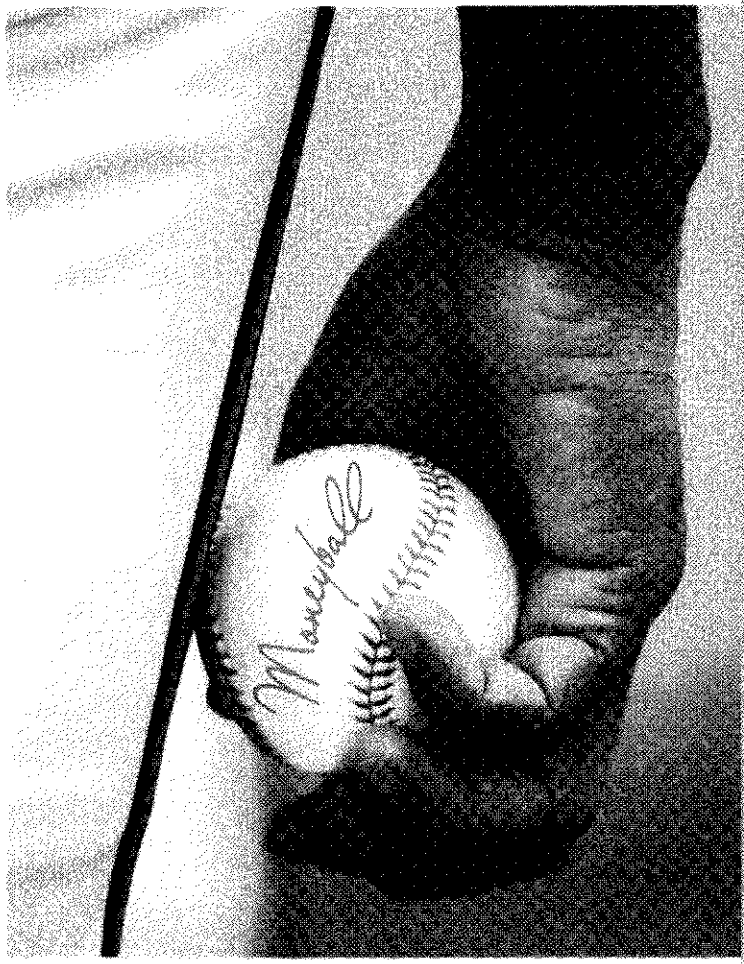
these observations, teams were still employing singles-hitting first basemen with mediocre batting averages; that no longer happens.) The average peak performance of hitters was at age 27, not 30 as was once commonly thought.

On and on it went—and still goes: James' 2002 book *Win Shares* may lead to brand new ways of evaluating defensive performance. James always had a perversely attractive tough-love approach to his readers—and to his own conclusions, which he happily ripped up and denounced, year after year, as new information or thinking came to light. He railed against the inadequacy of stats gathering and helped create a grassroots organization to fill in the many blanks in the average box score. "There was something bracing about the way he did it—his passion, his humor, his intolerance of stupidity, his preference for leaving an honest mess for others to clean up rather than a tidy lie for them to admire—that inspired others to join his cause," Lewis writes.

The historical context, too, played in sabermetrics's favor. "When Bill James published his 1977 Baseball Abstract two changes were about to occur that would make his questions not only more answerable but also more valuable," Lewis writes. "First came radical advances in computer technology: This dramatically reduced the cost of compiling and analyzing vast amounts of baseball data. Then came the boom in baseball players' salaries: This dramatically raised the benefits of having such knowledge."

Beane had extra incentive to be open to James and this new cottage industry of intellectual property: Beane himself was precisely the type of player that baseball insiders overvalued. Compared favorably to his organization mate Darryl Strawberry, Beane was a lovely athlete with all "five tools"—the ability to hit for average, hit for power, run, field, and throw. Yet he was a big league failure, partly because of his inability to control the strike zone as a batter. "The new, outsider's view of baseball was all about exposing the illusions created by the insiders on the field," Lewis writes. "Billy Beane had himself been one of those illusions."

Beane is also (still) an imposing physical specimen, who can and does command respect and even fear in a macho clubhouse. This, Lewis shows, became crucial in his ability to



Moneyball (cover detail)

» Live from Chaos Pavilion

heart: *The X-Files* and the World Wide Web.

And by 2003, this was all standard background noise. These days, choosing your politics is a matter of choosing who you're more afraid of, the Washington cabal that's openly trying to erase your freedoms or the various foreign cabals that are openly trying to kill you. Like it or not, we're living in Robert Anton Wilson's world.

Illuminatus! did not invent this mental universe *sui generis*. But it was *Illuminatus!* that created the template, with its sprawling story that treated every interpretation of the world, paranoid or not, as equally plausible and equally ridiculous. And it was Wilson whose other novels and essays, from the historical fiction *The Earth Will Shake* to the autobiographical *Cosmic Trigger*, explored conspiracy theories not to expose "the truth" but to reveal the ways we construct strange stories out of the everyday truths we only hazily perceive.

This wasn't a purely abstract intellectual pursuit. In the early '70s, experimenting heavily with psychedelics and other forms of "deliberately induced brain change," Wilson underwent a series of unusual...experiences. "Around 1973 I became convinced for a while that I was receiving messages from outer space," he informs us in *Maybe Logic*. "But then a psychic reader told me that I was actually channeling an ancient Chinese philosopher. And another psychic reader told me »

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ram a bunch of stat nerd ideas down the throats of players, coaches, and scouts. Though Lewis has called *Moneyball* "the story of an idea" (the idea being sabermetric thought), in fact it's the story of the temperamental, bullheaded revolutionary who was able to *impose* this idea on an unwilling host and take advantage of his market's irrationalities. It's a management tale and morality fable, which may be why the book has been so popular among Wall Street traders and Web geeks. I know at least two people who, after reading the book, decided to rethink their entire mental approaches to life.

Which may sound like evidence for Richard Griffin's description of sabermetrics as a "cult," but that charge misses a crucial point. The analytic revolution thrived precisely because from its early days people argued passionately with each other. As important, they yielded when the better research or theory won. Much of the parlor reaction to *Moneyball* has focused on questions such as: What happens when the rest of baseball catches up to Beane's fanatical emphasis on on-base percentage? And why on earth would he give away his trade secrets?

The first question ignores the distorting effects of Lewis' book. He chose to highlight Oakland's strong emphasis on offensive patience, partly because it's important and partly because it presented to him cerebral underdog subjects such as castoff catcher turned starting first baseman Scott Hatteberg and submarine pitcher Chad Bradford. Sabermetrics at heart is about analytical *thinking*, not one particular statistical category. Perhaps the most significant organizational change the A's have implemented over the years is a scientific physical program to prevent what the stat geeks have long identified as a crucial problem: arm injuries to pitchers. Critics of Beane and *Moneyball* say both are piggybacking on the success of Oakland's three great young pitchers (Barry Zito, Tim Hudson, and Mark Mulder), but it's entirely plausible that one or more of the three would have blown out their elbows in nonsabermetric organizations.

As the A's cruised to another first place finish this year, an odd thing happened: they did it with pitching and fleet-footed defense, *not* their on-base percentage (which ranked near the bottom of the American League). Quietly, and without the naysayers noticing it, the team has gotten rid of fat slow white guys like Matt Stairs, Jason Giambi, and Jeremy Giambi, while importing low-on-base-percentage defensive wizards such as Chris Singleton. Meanwhile, the Boston Red Sox, who hired Bill James and sabermetric wunderkind Voros McCracken in the off season, had a record-setting, playoff-bound offensive season using forgotten players only stat geeks could love. While the Tracy Ringolsbys of the world stew in their juices, Beane and his fellow travelers are having the last laugh.

"A few years ago," he told the *Oakland Tribune* recently, "people wondered if we pitched well enough and if we played good enough defense. It's a story untold. All you have to do is score enough runs." ▯

Matt Welch (mwelch@reason.com) is a **reason** *associate editor.*

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Orient Obsess

A lackluster look at Americans abroad

Michael Young

American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East Since 1945, by Douglas Little, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 424 pages, $34.95

In his book *The Dream Palace of the Arabs* (1998), the Middle East scholar Fouad Ajami took a page out of Edmund Wilson's *Patriotic Gore* (1962) in closing a chapter by describing a son as a coda to his departed father. Wilson did it with Tom Sherman, who epitomized the psychological pathologies of Union Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman. (Tom became a Catholic priest, to his father's enduring regret.) Ajami did it with professional basketball player Steve Kerr, whose tenacity on the court replicated that of his father, Malcolm, a Middle East specialist who was president of the American University of Beirut (AUB) when he was murdered in January 1984.

Few Lebanese saw anything seminal in Kerr's death, let alone pondered its meaning in the context of well over a century of U.S.-Arab relations. Lebanon's on-again, off-again war was then in its ninth year, and the loss of this scion of patrician American missionaries was regarded as just another tragedy in a series of similar outrages, though unusual for having infiltrated the sheltered world of the AUB.

For Ajami, however, the murder represented much more. He described Kerr's death as that of "an intimate stranger," born in Beirut "in the very hospital where he was pronounced dead," an American who had sought to understand and address the Middle East on its own terms, and who could do so in its own language. Like Wilson, Ajami saw something transcendent in the contrast between father and son, a generational rupture that spoke to the complexities, moral and political, of the worlds navigated by the fathers. In Kerr's case, a world that devoured him.

Douglas Little, in *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East Since 1945*, provides a practical, competent overview of American relations with the Arab world, but one that will leave you in search of either drama or meaning. Little, a history professor at Clark University in Massachusetts, is good at chronological exposition, has blackened many a note card, and boasts a hefty bibliography. Yet the outcome is a book that will make you marvel at how someone could tackle such an enthralling subject and make it sound so flat.

The title doesn't help. Whenever the word *Orientalism* is used, people on all sides of the Middle East studies divide reach for their pistols. They will safely pack them away upon scanning Little's tome, however. He never really uses the term in an interesting way, in part because his definition is anemic: American Orientalism, he argues, is "a tendency to underestimate the peoples of the region and to overestimate America's ability to make a bad situation better." One suspects that even the late Edward Said, who famously developed the concept of Orientalism in a 1978 book of the same name, would wince: "What of the nexus of knowledge and power creating 'the Oriental' and in a sense obliterating him," Said might well sneer, citing himself.

Yet there are aspects of the book well worth examining. Little opens with a chapter on America's cultural alienation from the Arab world, where he makes the valid point that perceptions of Arabs in the United States lag far behind those of other ethnic groups in terms of sensitivity. American popular culture is shot through with appalling stereotypes of Arabs and Arab-Americans, though Little's path to this revelation is much too dependent on his reading of *National Geographic*, which he foolishly treats

>> Live from Chapel Perilous

I was channeling a medieval Irish bard. And at that time I started reading neurology and I decided it was just my right brain talking to my left brain. And then I went to Ireland and discovered it was actually a six-foot-tall white rabbit—they call it the pooka."

A little later he comments, "I like the giant rabbit from County Kerry because there's no chance anyone will take that literally."

Including yourself? asks the interviewer.

Wilson agrees. Then he adds, "Well, not *too* literally." He glances over his shoulder. "Sorry about that, Harvey."

If there's a central message to Wilson's work, the film tells us, it's the agnostic notion that you can't be completely certain about anything—and that even when you're pretty sure an idea is baseless, it might be fun to entertain it for an evening. Somewhere between absolute belief and absolute incredulity, he tells us, the universe contains a *maybe*. To which anyone who follows the news these days can reply: *No doubt.*

Associate Editor Jesse Walker (jwalker@reason.com) is the author of Rebels on the Air (NYU Press).

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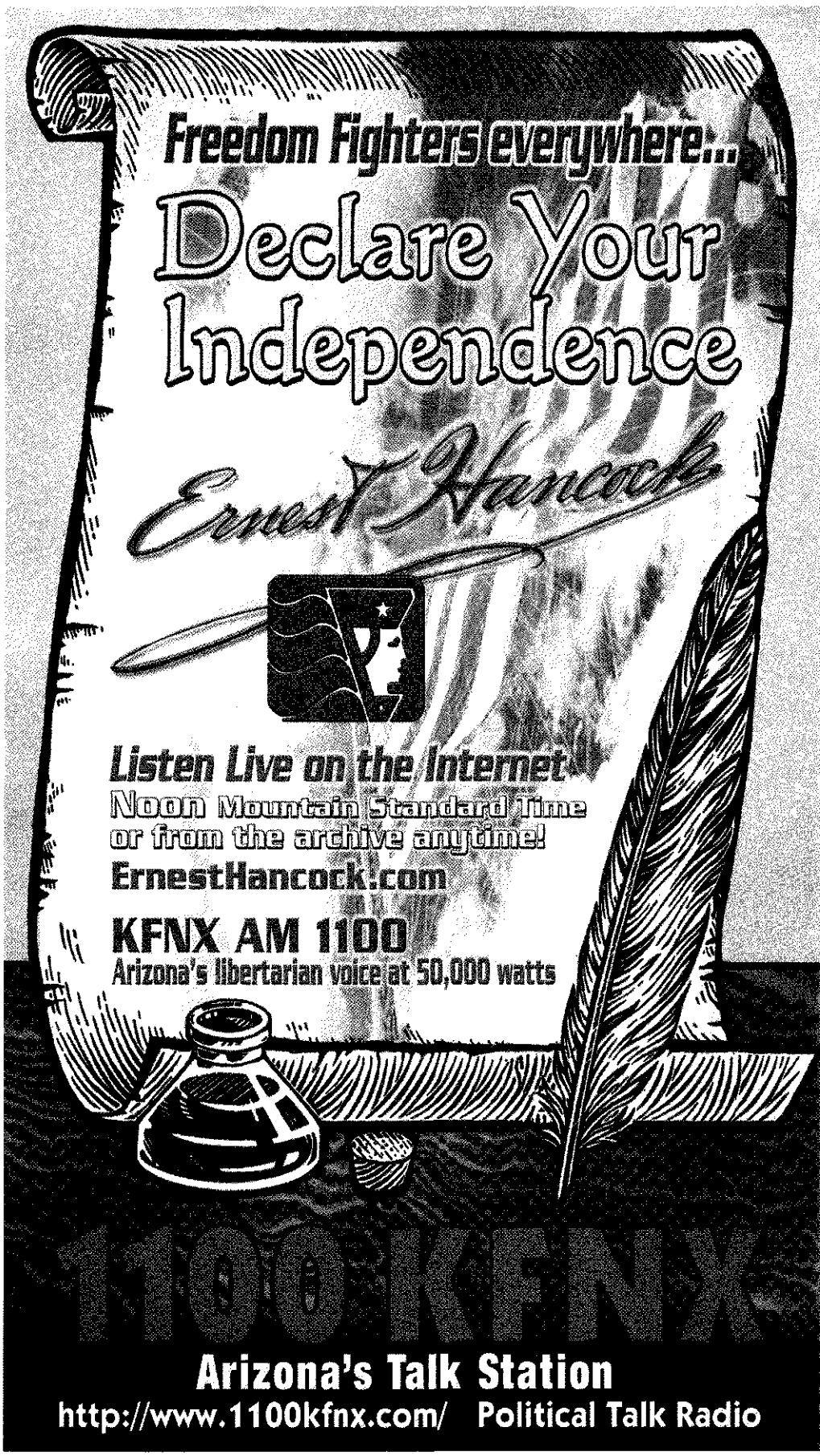

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as the primary vessel for establishing American attitudes toward foreign cultures.

Little falters also in overlooking those sympathetic Americans—missionaries, academics, and diplomats—who sought to explain the Arab world to their countrymen. They were the ones who set up educational institutions that trained generations of Middle Easterners, who made understanding the region a cornerstone of their lives, and who, like Malcolm Kerr, paid a high price for embracing cultural ecumenism. Surely they deserve a mention in Little's inventory of American anti-Arab biases, if only to underscore their irrelevance in forming American opinions.

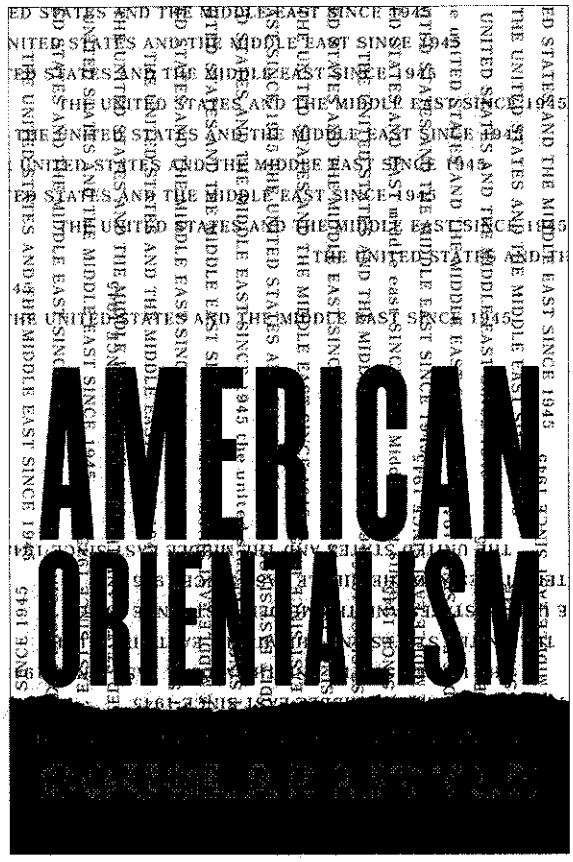
In fact, Little never gauges the impact these Americans of the Middle East played in defining their country's outlook on the region. He prefers sketching the grand policies of U.S. administrations and oil companies to explaining the psychology of the American-Arab encounter. That's fine, but one never gets a sense that Little has experienced his subject at first hand; *American Orientalism* reads like something crafted in a New England study. Infinitely more immediate is Robert Kaplan's rousing 1993 work, *The Arabists* (the term used to describe those Americans working in, enamored with, and knowledgeable of the Arab world), with its insights garnered through myriad interviews, lengthy taxi rides, and plodding lunches.

Little didn't need to duplicate Kaplan, but he would have gained by giving a face to his characters. *The Arabists* will remain valuable, for example, because of its unsparing account of Americans going native in the Middle East, an essential feature of the cross-cultural interaction Little is describing. Consider, for example, Kaplan's account of the mid-'80s kidnapping of American missionary Benjamin Weir in Lebanon by Islamic Jihad. What image could match that of Weir's wife Carol snapping at U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz, who had just criticized the kidnappers, that her husband's captors "had some legitimate grievances against the United States"?

The Weirs suffered for their Middle Eastern sympathies, losing their daughter Ann in a bus-train accident in Egypt, where she had gone to teach. Yet their attitude only underlined how the Arabists, often remarkable for their educational, academic, and cultural achievements, were also astonishingly blind and petty when it came to certain issues.

For instance, most Arabists' deep revulsion for Arab Christians, particularly Lebanon's Maronites, was legendary. One explanation is that the mainly Protestant Americans couldn't abide the Eastern Christians' attachment to Catholic France, or their devotion to the outward trappings of religion at the expense of spirituality. That may be true, but it misses the point: What pro-Arab Americans couldn't stomach was that the Christians were often estranged from their Muslim brethren and from the Arab nationalism the region engendered (though minorities were among the first theorists of the ideology). The Arabists believed, particularly during the heady days of "national liberation" in the 1950s and '60s, that archaic Christians were stubbornly resisting the Middle East's future. There was something very American in their reaction: a righteous indignation that the Arab consensus was being bucked, but also a romantic identification with a dogma regarded as modern and progressive. Ironically, a similar motivation shaped the Arabists' outlook on Israel—always perceived as a foreign body interrupting potential regional harmony.

This is all absent from Little's unadventurous log. The few discernible Americans populating his book are government officials, who for much of the half-century of American-Arab transactions after World War II were preoccupied with the Soviet Union. Throughout the Cold War successive administrations tried



American Orientalism (cover)

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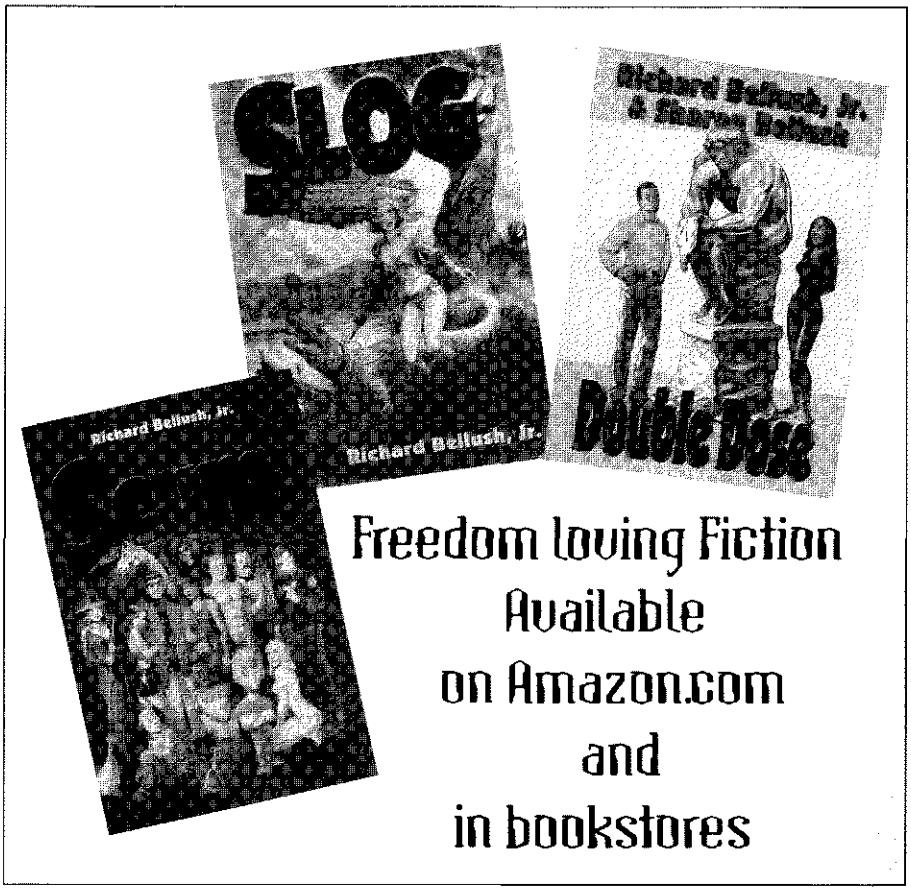

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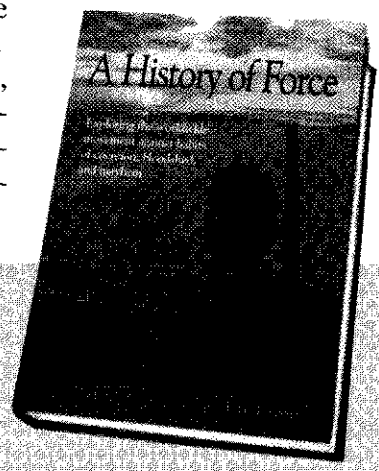

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to resolve the following conundrum: How far could Arab governments go in expressing their sovereign nationalism without threatening America's position vis-à-vis the USSR? The specter that haunted Washington was that of Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, who was seen by the United States as an anti-communist nationalist until he sought to play the superpowers off against one another, while also developing his relationship with Moscow, which had no qualms about arming him.

A consequence of this anxiety that Arab regimes might tilt the Soviet Union's way was an American quest for stability in friendly states. Little takes an intriguing look at how numerous administrations sought to pursue this goal through a strong dose of Yankee hopefulness, which was much needed since pro-American Arab leaders were often splendid thugs. And they had an incentive to stay that way: Washington was so obsessed with losing ground in the Cold War that the regimes could easily abuse their populations and stifle free expression. The U.S. wouldn't turn up the heat on them as long as they were regarded as anti-communist—as "sons of bitches, but our sons of bitches."

American policy makers understood this reality but still stalwartly requested that their repressive confederates advance reform, development, and modernization to garner domestic support and ward off coups or revolutions that might harm U.S. interests. The only problem, as Little observes, was that reform raised expectations (he uses the examples of Iraq under the Hashemites, Libya under King Idris, and Iran under Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi),

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mobilizing populations even more aggressively against their pro-American masters. What Washington could not grasp was that reform and modernization contradicted regime immovability: The U.S. wanted its friends to stay solidly in place as enlightened despots, but Arab populations (not to mention the Iranians in 1979) naturally saw reform as an invitation to oust their leaders—even if what came afterward was often far worse.

The USSR ultimately collapsed through Mikhail Gorbachev's simi-

The U.S. wanted its friends to stay solidly in place as enlightened despots, but Arab populations (not to mention the Iranians in 1979) naturally saw reform as an invitation to oust their leaders.

larly misguided notion that a sclerotic and largely discredited system could somehow survive political and social renovation. The Soviet leader's efforts provoked much derision in the United States. Yet many forget that American policy in the Middle East was for decades based on similar logic.

Do the Bush administration's actions in Iraq portend change? One paradox, it appears, has been replaced by another very similar one: Where the U.S. had previously sought reformist change by its Arab allies to ensure steadiness, today it claims to spread liberalism through American military might but is so far finding this difficult to manage. The Bush administration is again confronting the familiar problem of introducing positive change and realizing afterward that dynamism can be a headache. In response, the U.S. can revert to familiar behavior, averting its gaze from the illiberal practices of friendly Arab regimes, or it can stick it out and turn Iraq into a liberal-capitalist showcase, whatever the regional fallout.

For the moment the administration is taking both approaches simultaneously, but ultimately only one can prevail. In calling for a new American empire to replace the Pax Britannica of the 19th century, the British historian Niall Ferguson has referred to the U.S. as "an empire in denial, a colossus with an attention deficit disorder." Yet what Ferguson forgot was that for half a century, until the 1991 Gulf War, the United States had it both ways—managing the region like an imperial power, but doing so from a distance without getting its hands, or conscience, too dirty.

That much has changed. America has virtually become a Middle Eastern state because of its Iraqi presence. More often than not the region has absorbed its conquerors and neutralized them. Against this history stands an American tendency to impose the will of the United States and, as Mark Twain put it in *Innocents Abroad*, to bear down on the people of the region "with America's greatness, until we [crush] them." A liberal Middle Eastern order will emerge only if America is able to sidestep these two extremes—absorption into the region or its gradual suffocation. ▪

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Bob Barr, Civil Libertarian

The right wing of the ACLU

Interviewed by Jesse Walker

AFTER ENTERING THE House of Representatives in 1995, Georgia Republican Bob Barr acquired a reputation as one of the most conservative members of Congress. It was Barr who in 1996 wrote the Defense of Marriage Act, which said states didn't have to recognize gay marriages performed in other states; it was Barr who protested when he learned the military allowed soldiers to practice Wicca. A former federal prosecutor, a firm social conservative, and a strong supporter of the War on Drugs, Barr doesn't fit most people's image of a civil libertarian.

But in his eight years in Congress (he failed to win re-election in 2002), Barr was one of Washington's loudest critics of the federal government's abuses of power, taking the lead in investigating the raid on Waco and in opposing Bill Clinton's efforts to undermine due process in terrorism cases. Since leaving Congress, Barr has taken an advisory post with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and started writing a column for Atlanta's alternative weekly *Creative Loafing*—neither ordinarily a haven for Republicans. While many on the right have fallen behind the Bush administration even as it betrays their purported principles, Barr represents another set of conservative' growing discomfort with the administration's erosion of individual liberty.

Associate Editor Jesse Walker talked with Barr in September.

reason: In *Creative Loafing*, you complained that "the attorney general spends his time and prestige traveling the heartland to sow fear and to endeavor to limit public discourse over the most basic of our freedoms." When the Senate confirmed Ashcroft, did you ever expect to be describing him like that?

Bob Barr: No. This has been something that I never would have anticipated two and a half years ago.

reason: Do you regret voting for the USA PATRIOT Act?

Barr: I do. I was hoping at the time that it would not be used as a floor but as a ceiling. But it's been a taking-off point for expanded authority in a number of areas. Perhaps most important is the fact that the administration seems to be pushing its application as broadly as it can in nonterrorism cases. And despite the assurances by the administration that Section 215, which relates to obtaining records from libraries and other repositories, is not being used, the fact is it is being used.

It has become much more problematic because it's part of a growing list of privacy-invasive government programs, such as TIA [Terrorism Information Awareness]. They changed the name [from Total Information Awareness] and John Poindexter has left the Defense Department, but I've seen nothing that indicates to me proof that TIA is absolutely dead with a stake driven through its heart and burned and its head cut off, which is how Steve Forbes used to describe what we needed to do with the IRS. So my presumption is that it in some form or fashion is continuing.

We have now the emergence of the CAPPS II system—the airline passenger profiling system. We have, apparently, a number of state efforts that are being funded by the federal government, such as the one that just came to light called the Matrix system, down in Florida, where the feds are providing grant monies to state agencies to set up programs similar to TIA.

reason: Isn't there a continuity between what Janet Reno was doing and what John Ashcroft's doing now? A lot of these measures are warmed over from the Clinton years.

Barr: I think that's a very accurate observation. It's one that I and a number of others had when we first saw the initial version of the law. It wasn't called the PATRIOT Act originally—that was some acronym that someone came up with a few weeks later—but the first version of what later became the PATRIOT Act was very familiar to a number of us on the Hill. We had seen many of these provisions submitted previously by the Clinton administration.

reason: A lot of people were surprised when you took a post with the ACLU, but you actually cooperated with them going back at least to the early Clinton years.

Barr: It started with the initial anti-terrorism bill in '96. That probably was the first time that we recognized specifically that we had some very fundamental common interests. We worked together after that on several other pieces of legislation, such as the asset forfeiture reform, the national driver's license, and the Know Your Customer program.

I had always known them to be a very, very consistent advocate

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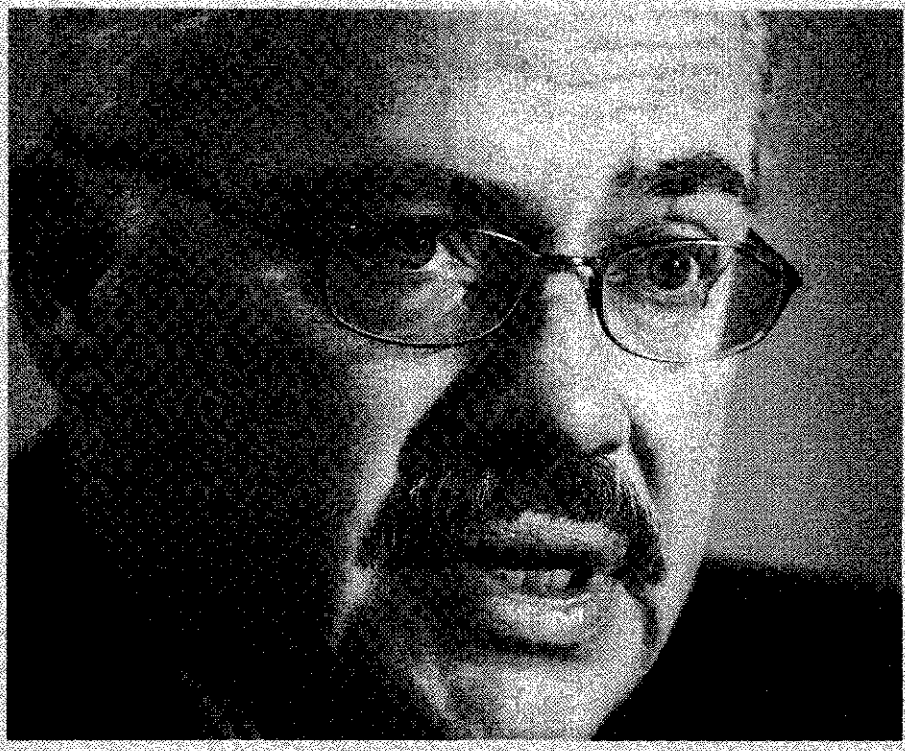

Bob Barr, AP Wide World Photos

for civil liberties, but we disagreed on so many issues that I never really sought them out in terms of an ally. But shortly after I came up to the Congress, I realized—and I think they realized the same thing—that the size of government and the expansiveness of government power were creating a smaller sphere of personal liberty and personal privacy, and that we needed to find allies in this fight, and work together on those issues in which we agree and agree to disagree on the other issues.

reason: Have you caught much flak from other conservative Republicans for cooperating with them?

Barr: To some extent, but the reaction generally has been positive. Most people, when they stop to think about it, realize that there is a great commonality of interest between liberals and conservatives on these issues.

reason: You started out sympathetic to civil libertarian concerns about trying terrorists before military tribunals, but ended up endorsing the idea. What changed your mind?

Barr: The administration, in that instance, seemed to listen to a number of the criticisms that we made. It made some fairly substantial changes to the way they were going to carry out the tribunals.

There are two concerns that I continue to have. One is that the administration can change its mind at any time. You can't say, "Hey, this is a great idea," and just walk away from it. You've got to monitor it and make sure nobody backslides. The second is that I don't think we've seen a consistent standard exercised by the administration in deciding when to use military tribunals. That's bothersome.

If you use it in an appropriate setting—a military setting, in the context of an active conflict—and you have an enemy combatant, a military tribunal with its accelerated procedures lends itself to a wartime scenario. But the government really needs to have an articulated, consistent standard. You have John Walker Lindh, who I consider to be a poster boy for a military tribunal proceeding, tried in our civilian courts. And then you have this other fella, Jose Padilla, being tried in a military tribunal. I think his situation is much more appropriately handled in the civilian courts.

And then you have the Zacarias Moussaui case, where because the government doesn't seem to be getting its way with regard to access to witnesses by the defendant, they indicate, "Well, if we don't get our way, we'll just go ahead and try him in a military tribunal." I don't think that's appropriate.

reason: In another one of your *Creative Loafing* columns, you wrote that neoconservatives want to "rely on the raw and aggressive use of military power to a unique degree." Where have they called for using military power where you'd prefer not to use force?

Barr: One place where this already seems to be coming back to haunt us is the Israeli call—temporarily suspended, but it could be resurrected—to go after Arafat and take him out, to kill him. It's somewhat inconsistent for us to counsel the Israelis not to do that when that's precisely the tack we seem to take in Iraq. This seems to open, to some extent, perhaps, a can of worms—where other nations will take the same standard and we might not like it. ■

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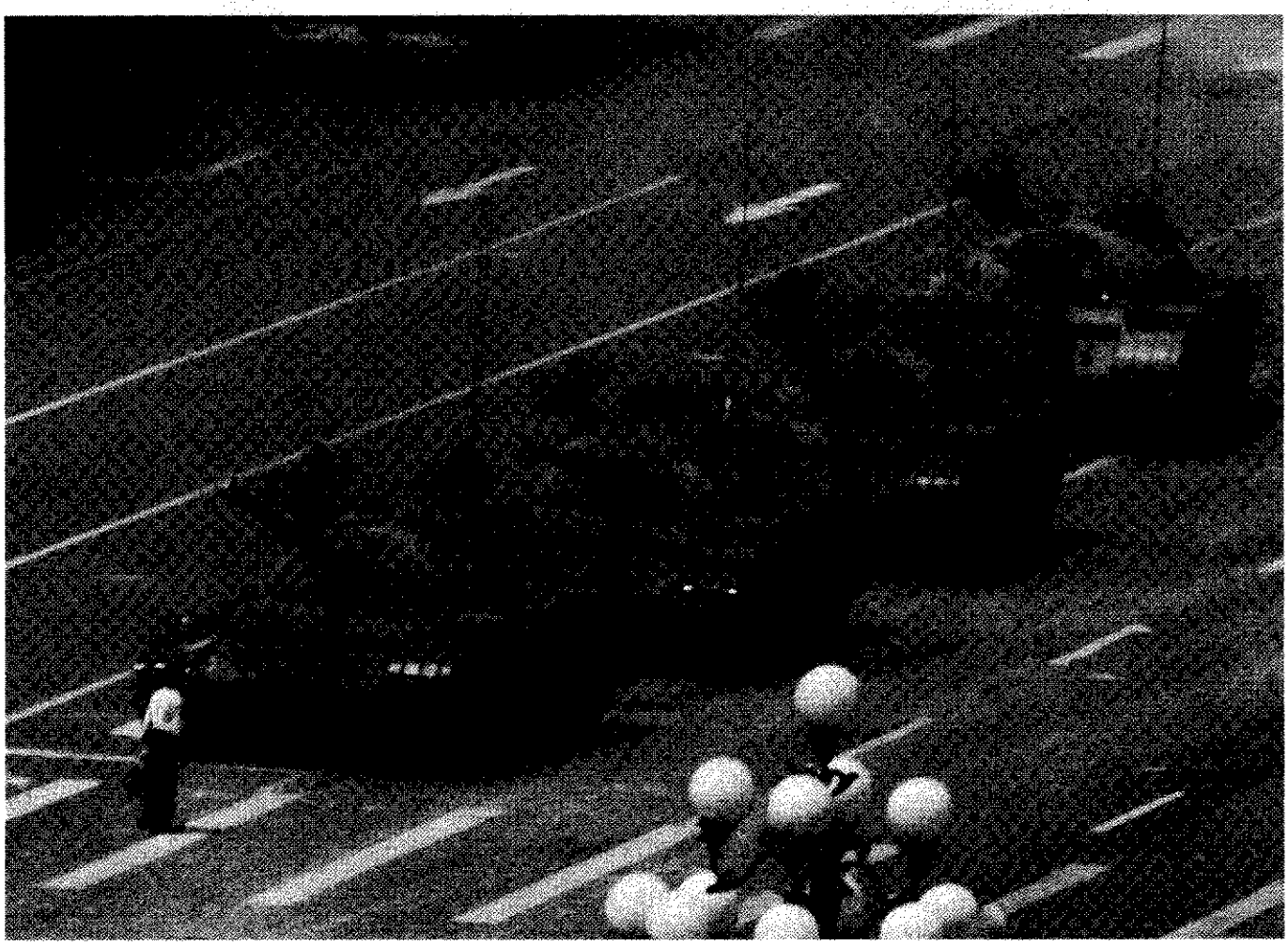

Tiananmen Square, AP/Wide World Photos

Tanks and Tales

Charles Paul Freund

In the years since World War II, there have been many variations of this famous tank image. There are whole photo libraries of tanks in the streets of East Berlin in 1953, in Budapest in 1956, and in Prague in 1968, all portraying civilians in desperate revolt against totalist systems. This video image shot during the 1989 Tiananmen Square confrontation, however, became an instant icon of individual courage challenging anonymous brute force. It is easily the best-known portrayal of that theme to appear in the last 35 years.

Yet the Chinese state perceives this image very differently, and it likes what it sees. As photo critic Vicki Goldberg has written, the picture "is exhibited to show the restraint of the troops, who chose not to run over a lone man blocking the march of an entire line of tanks." China's little fable of "restraint" would work better if it weren't widely believed in Beijing that the state had executed the unknown man. No one has ever identified him or confirmed his fate, but *The New York Times* reported in 1990 that his death was persistently rumored.

One picture can tell many stories, and this one's told three so far: of defiance against the state, of "restraint" by the state, and of the state's vengeance. Perhaps it has one more meaning that will become clear in the course of the next 35 years: a foreshadowing of the end of another totalist state.

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Five Forgotten Schools

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The increasing demand for charter schools, and the educational options they provide, has been elevated by the belief that urban schools need dramatic improvement. But why hasn't this push produced more results? **The story of five forgotten schools serves as one example of the hypocrisy of some school reform**—opponents of major change claiming they want to improve schools but being satisfied with merely blocking change.

In December 2000, at the prodding of former mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the New York City Board of Education made national headlines by initiating a bold reform to improve five of its most chronically poor-performing schools. The schools were to be partnered with a private manager to turn them around. Edison Schools, Inc., had been selected, after a lengthy review process involving multiple applicants, to run PS 161 in Harlem, PS 66 in the Bronx, and MS 320, MS 246, and IS 111 in Brooklyn.

But there was one stipulation. The parents at each school had to vote to approve the initiative. In no time local activist organizations and the city teachers union, all with vested interests in keeping the schools under direct board control, launched a noisy campaign of misinformation, denouncing Edison as a profiteer, the mayor as an enemy of public education, and the board as a bunch of backroom dirty dealers. The initiative was voted down in all five schools.

Lost in the debate was the tragic disservice these schools were doing to children. In January 2001, while activists were defending the schools against outside intervention, the schools were quietly failing most of their students. On average only 19 percent at each school achieved proficiency on the New York state reading assessment. Of course, the protesters promised to work for the schools' improvement after the voting was over.

But what happened? One school, IS 111, was closed and another, MS 320, was reconstituted. **The four schools that remain open in their new or original forms continue to fail their students miserably.** Two years later reading proficiency rates have improved only 4 percentage points on average.

Meanwhile, Edison has been working with community groups elsewhere in the state—the Bronx, Buffalo, Rochester, Albany, and Riverhead—to open six charter schools. These schools serve children with high levels of economic need whose test scores two years ago looked just like the scores in the five New York City schools. But today, those charter schools have taken their students to promising heights, raising their state reading scores an average of 17 percentage points. One has to wonder whether this kind of progress could have come to the five schools, now sadly forgotten, in New York City.

The New York City Board of Education has been dissolved, replaced by direct mayoral control of the schools. The new chancellor, Joel Klein, is not beholden to any of the groups that squelched the partnership with Edison. The politics of school reform now hinges on the support for Mayor Mike Bloomberg, who appoints the chancellor. Thus far Chancellor Klein has shown tremendous resolve to buck the status quo, maintain a focus on children at all costs, and embrace ideas his predecessors found too hot to handle. For the sake of the hundreds of troubled New York City public schools, let's hope he keeps it up.

— John E. Chubb

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

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***Contact us to receive a complimentary copy of chapter one, the* Findings and Recommendations of the Koret Task Force on K–12 Education.**

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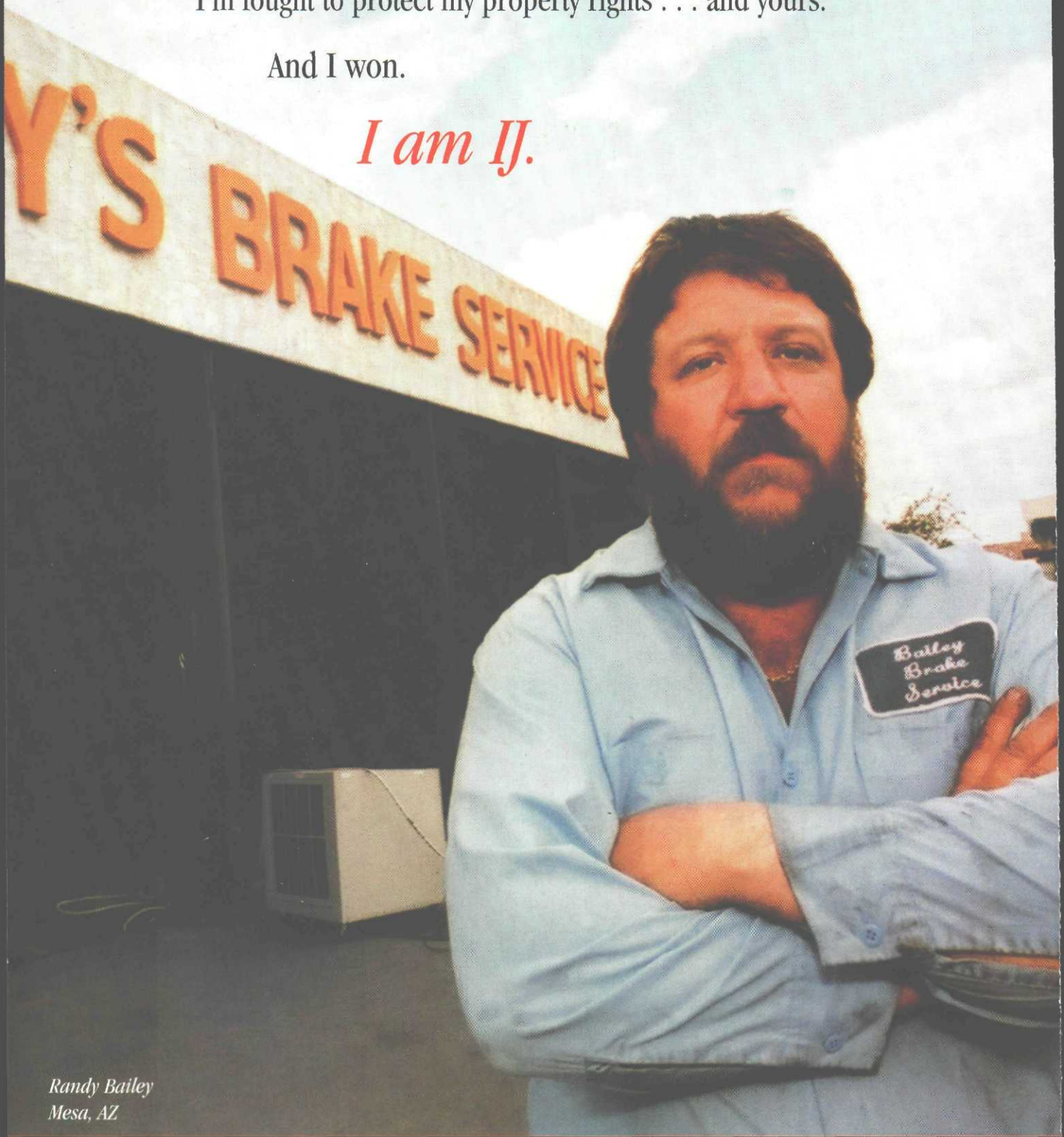

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